

OFFICIAL REPORT

*of the*

PROCEEDINGS

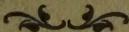
*of the*

DEMOCRATIC  
National  
Convention

*Held at*

HOUSTON, TEXAS

June 26, 27, 28 and 29, 1928



*Resulting in the Nomination of*

ALFRED E. SMITH

*of New York*

FOR PRESIDENT

AND

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

*of Arkansas*

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

*Clarence Cannon*



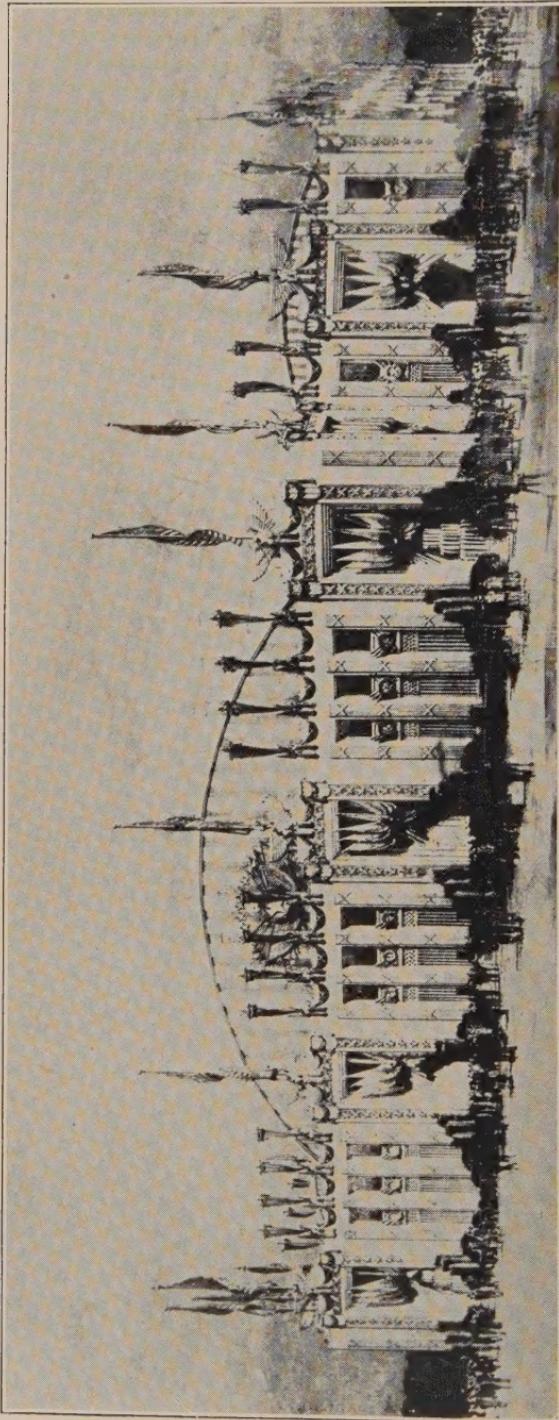




Clarence Cannon

Underwood and Underwood

CONVENTION HALL—HOUSTON, TEXAS



Democratic Party National Convention  
1928: Houston, Tex.

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# Democratic National Convention

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## First Day

### FIRST SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 26th, 1928,  
12:00 o'Clock Noon.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Clem Shaver of West Virginia, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee): The Convention will come to order.

The invocation will be offered by the Reverend Sam R. Hay of Houston, Texas.

#### PRAYER OF BISHOP SAM R. HAY OF HOUSTON, TEXAS

BISHOP SAM R. HAY (of Houston, Texas): We thank Thee, our gracious Heavenly Father, for that good providence that has kept us as a nation and as individuals to this hour. Thou who art the Giver of all good, Author of eternal life, send Thy blessings upon these, Thy servants, men and women, gathered here from all parts of our great country to perform a duty of patriotism, a duty of justice and a duty of right for the welfare of all our people. We bow before Thee with unreserved gratitude and acknowledge Thy supremacy and dominion over us. We believe that Thou art the Creator of all things. We believe with unshaken faith that Thou didst give Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to save us from sin and to lead us into high and holy living. We ask that divine wisdom may direct the deliberations of this national convention. We ask unbounded mercy for all citizens throughout the United States, that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which is Thine.

And now, Oh, Christ, we would pray together the prayer Thou didst teach Thy disciples to pray:

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temp-

tation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever and ever. Amen.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: We will now be favored with a song by Miss Melvina Passmore of Houston, Texas.

Miss Passmore sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a solo, and then sang "America" and "Dixie," with the entire audience joining. She was accompanied by the Old Gray Mare Band. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana, secretary of the Democratic National Committee and of this convention, will read the convention call.

#### THE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION

MR. CHARLES A. GREATHOUSE (of Indiana, secretary of the Democratic National Committee) reading:

"CALL FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1928

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 25, 1928.

"To Whom It May Concern:

"By action and authority of the Democratic National Committee, under a resolution adopted at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., January 12, 1928, a national convention of the Democratic Party is hereby called to meet in the city of Houston, in the state of Texas, on the 26th day of June, 1928, at twelve o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President and a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, to promulgate a party platform, and to take such other action as may be deemed advisable. Delegates and alternates from each state shall be chosen to the number of two delegates and two alternates for each United States senator and two delegates and two alternates for each representative in Congress from the respective states; and the District of Columbia, Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska and the Canal Zone shall be entitled to six delegates and six alternates each; and the Virgin Islands, two delegates and two alternates.

"In accordance with the action taken by the Democratic National Committee in authorizing the issuance of this call, it is provided that no state or territory shall elect any number of delegates with their alternates in excess of the quota to which such state or territory may be entitled under the basis of representation herein indicated.

"In authorizing this call the Democratic National Committee further provided that in order that opportunity may be afforded the various states to give adequate representation to women as delegates-at-large, without disturbing prevailing party custom,

there may be elected from each state four delegates-at-large for each senator in Congress from such state, with one-half vote each in the national convention, and recommended to the states that one-half of the number of delegates-at-large shall be women.

(Signed) CLEM SHAVER, National Chairman."

(Applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: We have the pleasure of introducing the Honorable Oscar Holcombe, mayor of the city of Houston, who will now welcome you to the city. (Prolonged applause.)

#### WELCOMING ADDRESS OF MAYOR HOLCOMBE

MAYOR HOLCOMBE: Mr. Chairman and members of the National Democratic Convention and other guests of Houston: We are making history here today. The meeting of this convention in a southern state for the first time in over a half century is history. The meeting of this convention for the first time in a section of this country which was formerly a Republic, is history. Texas, of course, was a Republic and on the site of the Rice Hotel stood the capitol of the Republic of Texas.

For me to make an address of welcome would be superfluous. We have builded here this hall in which to hold this great convention. We have made every arrangement that we thought was possible for your comfort and for your convenience. (Applause.)

To you people from the North we want to demonstrate true southern hospitality. (Applause.) Now, the way we do that in the South is not to stand before you with a pretty speech, but to take you by the hand, greet you as you would greet your neighbor when he comes to your house, shake your hand, put our arms around you and say, "John, Mary, Kate, come on back into the kitchen, cut yourself a piece of cake, and have a cup of tea." (Applause.) And, my friends, that is the attitude of Houston. We are highly honored. We feel that the biggest honor possible has been bestowed upon us. We know that this convention will be a good one, and my prediction, and the prediction of every one, I am sure, gathered in this hall, is that here in Houston the greatest piece of history will be made that has been made in years, and that is that a President of the United States will be nominated. I thank you. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: The reading clerk has an announcement to make.

THE TEMPORARY READING SECRETARY (Mr. P. J. Haltigan of Washington, D. C.): "Mr. Chairman Shaver: This is the one hundredth anniversary of the nomination and election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency of the United States. The Ladies' Hermitage Association of Nashville, Tennessee, Mrs. James S.

Frazer, president, presents this gavel made from hickory grown on the grounds of the Hermitage to the National Democratic Convention assembled at Houston, Texas, with the hope and expectation that Democracy, which stands for honest government and the rule of the people, will prevail this year as it did one hundred years ago under the leadership of that great Democratic chieftain.

(Signed) JOSEPH W. BYRNS,  
Member of Congress, Hermitage District, Tennessee."

The chairman authorizes this announcement also, requesting that the states that have not yet done so will please send up to the secretary their nominations for members of standing and other committees. Blank forms are available at the secretary's desk.

MR. C. C. DICKINSON (of Missouri): Mr. Chairman, I move that the convention recess until 7:30 p. m.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

(Whereupon, on June 26, 1928, at 12:45 o'clock p. m., the convention recessed to 7:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.)

## SECOND SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 26th, 1928,  
7:30 o'Clock P. M.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Clem Shaver, chairman of the Democratic National Committee): The convention will come to order. The invocation will be delivered by the Reverend William States Jacobs of the First Presbyterian Church, Houston.

### PRAAYER BY THE REVEREND WILLIAM STATES JACOBS

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou who dost guide the destinies of nations, who didst lead the ancient peoples, by a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, we humbly invoke Thy blessing upon the councils of this great party, that all that they do that is good and true and right may be greatly multiplied and blessed of Thee, and that any mistakes that they may make may be overruled by Thee, that all may be for the good of Thy people, for the upbuilding of our country and as a blessing to the whole wide world. To this end we pray that Thy spirit may brood over this convention. May that might of wisdom and of grace and of godly fear that can come from no other source be richly bestowed upon them by Thee. And grant that they may be guided in all truth and wisdom and righteousness, and may the richest blessings of God be upon these delegates, upon all the work that they do, the party through which they

work, and the nation that they seek to serve, and the world of which we are all a part. And to Thee will we give the praise forever. Amen.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: At the direction of the Democratic National Committee, your presiding officer presents the following recommendations for temporary officers of this convention, which will be read by the secretary.

THE TEMPORARY READING SECRETARY (Mr. P. J. Haltigan of Washington, D. C.): Recommendations of the Democratic National Committee for temporary officers of the Democratic National Convention:

Chairman: Claude G. Bowers, New York. (Applause.)

Secretary: Charles A. Greathouse, Indiana. (Applause.)

Executive Secretary: Richard T. Buchanan, District of Columbia. (Applause.)

Assistant Secretaries:

Mrs. Cecelia Casserley, California.

Miss Emily Woodward, Georgia.

Mrs. Ruth Haynes Carpenter, Minnesota.

Mrs. H. K. Bourne, Kentucky.

Mrs. Beecher Hitchcock, Idaho.

Mrs. John H. Hitch, Indiana.

Mrs. Ella Jean Flanders, Missouri.

Mrs. Earl Foster, Oklahoma.

Mrs. Hamilton P. Jones, Louisiana.

Mrs. Byrdie Taylor, Nebraska.

Mrs. Mollie Warren Wilcox, Kansas.

John Davis, Texas.

Ralph McGee, California.

Robert M. Field, New York. (Applause.)

Reading Secretary: P. J. Haltigan, Chief, District of Columbia; J. G. Holloway, Texas.

Tally Clerks:

Kenneth Romney, Chief, Montana.

W. C. VanCleave, Missouri.

E. G. Sherrill, North Carolina.

S. R. Gill, Texas.

John F. Carew, Jr., New York.

Parliamentarian: Clarence Cannon, Missouri.

Assistant Parliamentarian: John J. O'Connor, New York.

Sergeant-at-Arms: Edwin A. Halsey, Virginia.

Chief Doorkeeper: E. Lee Barnes, Alabama. (Applause.)

First Assistant Doorkeeper: Arthur Wood, Ohio. (Applause.)  
(William N. Gableman, Ohio, active.)

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Official Reporters: Miss Jessie Scott, Minnesota; H. B. Weaver, District of Columbia. (Applause.)

MISS GERTRUDE SUMNER ELY (of Pennsylvania): Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the recommendations.

(The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: The chair appoints Miss Gertrude Sumner Ely of Pennsylvania, the governor of South Dakota and the governor of Virginia to escort Mr. Bowers to the platform. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: I take pleasure in presenting Mr. Claude G. Bowers of Indiana and New York, our party historian and your temporary chairman. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. CLAUDE G. BOWERS (of Indiana and New York): The American Democracy has mobilized today to wage a war of extermination against privilege and pillage. (Prolonged applause.) We prime our guns against autocracy and bureaucracy. We march against that centralization which threatens the liberties of the people. We fight for the republic of the fathers, and for the recovery of the covenant from the keeping of a caste and class. (Applause.) We battle for the honor of the nation, besmirched and bedraggled by the most brazen and shameless carnival of corruption that ever blackened the reputation of a decent and self-respecting people. (Prolonged applause.)

We stand for the spirit of the preamble of the Declaration that is made a mockery; for the bill of rights that is ignored; for the social and economic justice which is refused; for the sovereign rights of states that are denied; and for a return to the old-fashioned civic integrity of a Jackson, a Tilden, a Cleveland, and a Wilson. We stand for the restoration of the government to the people who built it by their bravery and cemented it with their blood. (Applause.)

We do not underestimate the enemy. The little gilded group that now owns and controls the government can pour a golden stream into the slush fund and make no impression on the fortunes they have legislated into their coffers. The enemy enters the campaign unembarrassed by a debt—Harry Sinclair has paid that off. It enters the campaign with his money in its pocket and his blessing on its head.

For forty years the party in power has conjured with the name of Lincoln while following the leadership of Hamilton; and now, after eight years of successful privilege and pillage, it throws off the Lincolnian mask. It could hardly keep the Lincoln mask on its face and Sinclair's money in its chest.

Thus at Kansas City, where they dramatized the issue, it was not Lincoln, but Hamilton, who rode at the head of the procession.



ALFRED E. SMITH  
Nominee for President



## TWO POLITICAL SCHOOLS

Thus they frankly base their policies on the political principles of Hamilton; and we go forth to battle for the principles of Thomas Jefferson. The issues are as fundamental as they were when Jefferson and Hamilton crossed swords more than a century ago. To understand the conflicting views of these two men on the functions of government is to grasp the deep significance of this campaign.

Now Hamilton believed in the rule of an aristocracy of money, and Jefferson in a democracy of men.

Hamilton believed that governments are created for the domination of the masses, and Jefferson that they are created for the service of the people.

Hamilton wrote to Morris that governments are strong in proportion as they are made profitable to the powerful; and Jefferson knew that no government is fit to live that does not conserve the interest of the average man. (Applause.)

Hamilton proposed a scheme for binding the wealthy to the government by making government a source of revenue to the wealthy; and Jefferson unfurled his banner of equal rights.

Hamilton wanted to wipe out the boundary lines of states, and Jefferson was the champion of their sovereign powers.

Hamilton would have concentrated authority remote from the people, and Jefferson would have diffused it among them.

Hamilton would have injected governmental activities into all the affairs of men; and Jefferson laid it down as an axiom of freedom that "that government is best which governs least." (Applause.)

Just put a pin in this: There is not a major evil of which the American people are complaining now that is not due to the triumph of the Hamiltonian conception of the state. And the tribute to Hamilton at Kansas City was an expression of fealty to him who thought that governments are strong in proportion as they are made profitable to the powerful; who proposed the plan for binding the wealthy to the government by making government a source of revenue to the wealthy; who devised the scheme to tax the farm to pay the factory; and whose purpose was to make democracy in America a mockery and a sham.

Thus we are challenged once more to a conflict on the fundamentals; and a clear call comes to us today to fight anew under the Jeffersonian banner, with the Jacksonian sword, and in the Wilsonian spirit, and, crashing the gates of privilege, make Jeffersonian democracy a living force again in the lives and homes of men. (Applause.)

The friendly enemy at Kansas City has rendered a clarifying

service by proclaiming Hamilton as its father and beau ideal. This ought to awaken the Lincolnians among Republicans to a realization of what are the fundamentals of their party's faith. It was Lincoln who said that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and the axioms of a free society." What a comment on the confusion of the public mind on the elementals of American politics when a great party is able to claim a joint parenthood in Abraham Lincoln and Alexander Hamilton!

Why, you can not believe with Lincoln in democracy and with Hamilton against it.

You can not believe with Lincoln that "God loved the common people or he would not have made so many of them," and with Hamilton that the people are "a great beast."

You can not believe with Lincoln that the principles of Jefferson are "the definitions and the axioms of a free society," and with Hamilton that they are the definitions of anarchy.

You can not believe with Lincoln in a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," and with Hamilton in a government of the wealthy, by the influential and for the powerful.

There are Lincoln Republicans and Hamilton Republicans, but never the twain shall meet, not even at Kansas City, until you find some way to ride two horses going in opposite directions at the same time. (Applause.) We here propose to take our stand so uncompromisingly on the elemental principles of Jeffersonian democracy that liberals and progressives may fraternize with us in a common fight against the common foe in the common interest of the average man and woman. (Prolonged applause.)

#### WILSONIAN DAYS

We enter the campaign no strangers to the public. The brilliant record of our eight years of power is as a splotch of glorious sunshine against the smutty background of eight years of privilege and crime. In those eight years we wrote more progressive and constructive measures into law than had been written by the opposition in forty years of power. (Applause.)

One thing those eight years did—they buried beyond the reach of resurrection the ancient slander that the party of Wilson is incapable of constructive statesmanship. (Applause.)

They did one thing more—they destroyed the falsehood that Democracy means hard times.

They did another thing—they demolished the fallacy that the party that gave the Federal Reserve system to the nation is an enemy of business.

And those eight years did one thing more—they gave another immortal to the skies. (Applause.)

What a majestic figure was he who led us in those fruitful years! The cold even light of his superb intellect played upon the most intricate problems of the times and they seemed to solve themselves. He lifted the people to such heights of moral grandeur as they had never known before and his name and purpose made hearts beat faster in lowly places where his praise was sung in every language in the world. (Applause.) And when, at length, his body broken, but his spirit soaring still, he fell stricken, while still battling for his faith, there passed to time and to eternity and to all mankind the everlasting keeping of the immortal memory of Woodrow Wilson. (Prolonged applause and delegates rising.)

We submit that a political party that stands for that democracy which is inseparable from the liberties of men, and has given a Jefferson, a Jackson and a Wilson to the service of mankind, has earned the right, in times like these, to the co-operation of independents and progressives in the struggle for the preservation of popular government, and in the purging of the nation of that corruption which has made America a by-word and a hissing in the very alleys of the world. (Applause.)

#### BLACK HORSE CAVALRY

Sixteen years ago the late Senator Beveridge warned us of the "invisible government." That invisible government now feels strong enough to take on visibility. From the moment of the election of 1920 there was a mobilization of the Black Horse Cavalry of privilege and pillage, and it cantered down Pennsylvania Avenue, up and down from one end to the other. Strange creatures, unknown even to the capital, put in an appearance. Desk room was found for one of these in the Department of Justice. The Best Minds established a temple of the new patriotism in the Little Green House on K Street. (Applause.) Men who were the very symbols of privilege, whose fortunes had been built on the favors of government, were put in possession of the instrumentalities of the state. Acting on the Hamiltonian theory that governments are strong in proportion as they are made profitable to the powerful, the foremost of these was put in a strategic public position that he might personally supervise the delivery of the goods. The representatives of special interest hastened to the capital with their receipts for campaign contributions, to be given the key to the treasury and a guest card to the patriotic club on K Street where "there was a sound of revelry by night." (Applause.) Within five months the conditions in

Washington had become a scandal and a stench. The reign of privilege and pillage had begun. (Applause.)

#### PRIVILEGE ENTHRONED

The moment the bell rang these men set themselves to the task of undoing the work of Woodrow Wilson and to the commercialization of the government. In the midst of the usual scandal they hurried a tariff law upon the statutes at a cost of from three to four billions a year to the consumers.

They found the tariff commission we created an embarrassment—they ignored it. It was not facts they sought. They had promises to keep. When a little later they found it convenient to have a complacent commission to find the facts they sought—they packed it. From that hour the acoustics of the commission have been exceedingly bad. The cries of the millions for relief can not be heard, but the dulcet whisper of the pig iron industry was enough to bring a fifty per cent increase in its loot. (Applause.)

They found the Federal Trade Commission was mightily in the way—they packed it. They took the weapons we provided for the protection of the people against exploitation and they turned them over to the powers of pillage.

Thus privilege was speedily entrenched in every department of the government; and privilege entered into the office of the attorney general to spike the guns of justice; and privilege took possession of the strategic points in every department and commission; and when the machinery of this potential plutocracy was completed, there, seated at the control, was the very personification of the erstwhile invisible government, looking after the interest of his flock.

My friends, it is a tragic thing when a government of a mighty people can be mortgaged to a little group that could be crowded into the directors' rooms of the Aluminum Company of America. (Applause.) Under the rule of this regime, the average man has had no more stake in the government, for which he may be called upon to die, than if he had never touched our soil. (Applause.)

#### THE TRAGEDY OF THE FARMS

For example, what stake in government has the farmer of today? From the moment of the realization of the Hamiltonian state under the banner of the bloody shirt in the black and brutal days of reconstruction the American farmer has been but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. During the sixty years of Jeffersonian supremacy the farmer was on an equality with every other industry, and it is no mere coincidence that his decline and degradation began with the triumph of the Hamiltonian state. In

the Jeffersonian concept of society the farmer has a position of paramount importance; but in all the political writings of Hamilton the only reference to the farmer is a promise that in compensation for his submission to taxation for the benefit of others, he may put his wife and children to work in the mills. (Applause.)

Thus while the little group represented by Mr. Mellon has found fine plucking in the vineyard of the state, there have been nothing but thorns and thistles for the tillers of the soil. And the result is a condition of ruination that is a disgrace to our civilization. (Applause.) More than a million farms have been abandoned. More than two million men have been driven from the paternal acres by economic necessity within the year. The hammer of the auctioneer knocking down farmlands sounds like the continuous bombardment of a major battle in the West. (Applause.) Does the ruling caste want figures? Then take this—in five years of the Coolidge prosperity there has been a depreciation in the value of farm lands and equipment of thirty billion dollars! (Applause.)

And what does the ruling caste say to this? They call it "temporary depression." And what does it propose? They propose that the farmers shall become better business men.

Now when it suits the pleasure of the privileged to legislate money into their coffers it is applauded by the claqueurs as patriotic statesmanship; but when the farmer demands his share in the unhappy game of paternalism they denounce him as a radical and a crank.

One day the head of the state by a scratch of the pen increased the tariff loot of the pig iron industry by fifty per cent; and the very next day he delivered a homily to the farmers on the wickedness of expecting profit from a governmental act. (Prolonged applause.)

One day Mr. Mellon offered an argument against a farm relief bill; and the next day a Republican senator, by substituting the words "tariff" for "farm relief," and "duties" for "equalization fee," converted the Mellon argument into a devastating denunciation of the very processes through which much of the Mellon fortune has been made. (Applause.)

One month ago the President of the United States bitterly denounced with contemptuous phrasing the revolving fund of a farm relief bill; and the very next day he heartily approved the revolving fund for the favored shipping interest.

And then, with millions of producers on the verge of bankruptcy and despair, they contemptuously kicked their case from court and adjourned the Congress with a cheer. Thus for eight long years they have stood in the midst of the wreckage of the

farms and have done nothing—nothing to decrease the cost of transporting the farmer's produce to the marts; nothing toward rehabilitating his lost markets across the sea; but they have added a billion a year to the cost of the things the farmer has to buy.

Now we do not ask paternalistic privilege for the farmer, but we do demand that the hand of privilege shall be taken out of the farmer's pockets and off the farmer's throat. (Delegates rising and parading with banners, the demonstration lasting about twenty minutes, and was participated in by delegates from the following states: South Carolina, Minnesota, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Michigan, Montana, Connecticut, Vermont, Iowa, New Hampshire, Hawaii, New Mexico, Louisiana, California, Oregon, Illinois, Alabama, Arkansas, Philippines, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Kansas, Mississippi, Utah, Colorado, New York, Arizona, Washington, Canal Zone, Texas, West Virginia, Idaho, Maryland, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Delaware and New Jersey.) We propose to tear down the system of privilege and put the farmer on an absolute equality with every other industry. (Prolonged applause.) We do not propose that the most basic of industries shall longer be a door-mat for all the others to wipe their feet upon as they enter the temple of privilege. (Prolonged applause.)

#### DEMOCRACY AND BUSINESS

Ah, but whenever we protest against the commercialization of government in the interests of business they say we are enemies of business. Well, history refutes them. Thomas Jefferson was not an enemy of business. He merely objected to the use of the instrumentalities of the state to make it possible for a few men to pick the pockets of their fellowmen under the protection of the police. (Applause.)

Andrew Jackson was not an enemy of business. He discriminated between business and brigandage; and he was so much the friend of honest business that he fought to make it free.

Woodrow Wilson was not an enemy of business. During the eight years of his administrations we gave more intelligent legislative service to honest business than had been given it in forty years before. (Applause.)

We defy them to name a Democratic President who was an enemy of business.

But we differ from those to whom Mr. Mellon is sacrosanct in our definition of a business men. In the case of every tax reduction measure of the last eight years the Democratic minority in Congress has fought the battle of ninety-five per cent of the

business men of this country against his five per cent. (Applause.)

We hold that the owner of a little shop, the proprietor of a store in an average town, is as much a business man as the barons of iron and steel. The man who owns and operates a ranch in Texas or Montana is as much a business man as the banker in New York. (Applause.) The men who till the soil and feed the nation are better business men to the Jeffersonian than the most successful speculator in stocks and bonds. (Applause.) We are unable to accept the language of the opposition, for we are interested in the Babbitts, and they in the bulls and the bears. (Applause.)

We wage no war on big business if it be honest business; we find no fault with fortunes, however large, provided they are not accumulated through the misuse of governmental power. But we do protest against and war upon the commercialization of government that makes for corruption and crime.

#### CORRUPTION

Privilege and pillage are the Gold Dust twins of normalcy. The Wilson administration is a green spot bounded on one side by the Mulhall mess and on the other by an oil tanker flying a pirate's flag. (Applause.)

The last seven and a half years have been putrid beyond precedent. We make no charge—we follow the official record.

We have seen a governmental department designed for the legal protection of the people converted into a rendezvous for the barterers of illegal permits.

We have seen the agents of the Department of Justice sent forth at the nation's cost and with the administration's sanction on the infamous mission of "framing" a United States senator who had dared expose the criminality of its proceedings. Nothing more disgraceful blackened the days of the Federalist Sedition Law. A baser and more dastardly prostitution of the judicial processes has not shamed the story of a civilized nation since the unspeakable Jeffries sat upon the bench. And he died, deservedly, like a miserable felon in the tower.

We have seen the money appropriated for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers squandered on the pleasures of a drunken libertine. We have seen the nation's oil reserves, set aside by the prescience of Roosevelt, and sacredly guarded by the honesty and wisdom of Wilson and Daniels, bartered away by a member of the cabinet for a bribe in a little black bag. (Applause.)

#### "ADDITION, DIVISION AND SILENCE"

Shameful as these things are, more shameful far has been the

cynical silence and indifference of the high functionaries of the state to whom the people had a right to look for the protection of the nation's property and the nation's honor. We submit in no spirit of political flubdubbery that it is a shocking thing that we have waited vainly for seven years for one word, one syllable, one whisper of the mildest criticism of these criminals and crimes from a single representative of the administration.

They heard LaFollette's denunciation of Teapot Dome—and were silent. They saw the various processes in the alienation of the nation's property—and were silent. They heard the gossip of the capital that buzzed for weeks and months—and were silent. There was not a man among them with enough will power, or lung power, to blow a police whistle. (Applause.) Nay, more; when a warning of the impending crime was sent to a member of the cabinet, but recently knighted by the golden wand, he sent the letter to Albert B. Fall with this notation: "I should be glad to convey to this gentleman any reply you may suggest."

I sometimes think the virtues of silence may be overdone. Sometimes silence may be golden—for the thief.

Many years ago a corruptionist de luxe phrased the shibboleth of the powers of pillage in these words—"Addition, division—and silence." When the pillagers got their loot there was addition; when the faithless public servants got their share there was division; and from the men set by the people in the watch-tower to guard their treasures, there has been the invaluable contribution of silence. (Applause.)

Imagine Andrew Jackson silent in the midst of such crimes; imagine Tilden; imagine Cleveland; imagine Wilson! Why, they would have thundered their denunciations from the loftiest station in the world and have scourged the rascals forth with scorpion whips tipped with consuming flame. (Applause.)

They tell us now—and some of our Republican papers dwell especially upon this—"All these things have been exposed and something has been done. Why talk about it now?" This is our answer: If an attorney general of odorous memory no longer sits at the council table of the nation's chief it is because a Democratic senator so exposed the crimes of his regime that public sentiment lashed him out (applause); and if he was permitted to go without rebuke and to march out with all the honors of war, thank God it was not with the consent of the party of Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.)

And this is our answer: If the nation's oil reserves have been restored it is because the inquisitorial genius of Walsh of Montana exposed the crime and forced the proceedings that brought the restitution of the nation's stolen goods. (Prolonged applause.)



Wide World Studio

**JOSEPH T. ROBINSON**  
Nominee for Vice-President



## DIVISION OF THE SPOILS

And why the silence in the watch-tower? Because the organization of the party of the men stationed there was a beneficiary of the crime. (Applause.) Not only did they know of the crime, and maintain silence—they knew of the division of the spoils and knew that a goodly part was being used to pay the party debt.

What a picture for children to read some day in American history! We see the erstwhile chairman of the national committee of the regime in power laying aside his duties as an elder of the church to slink into the office of Sinclair to get the tainted bonds. We see him sneaking about like a receiver of stolen goods to men of means to persuade them dishonestly to contribute these to the party fund under cover. We see him sending a portion of these bonds to the dictator of the administration and the party, affectionately known as "Andy" in the records; and thus we know that the high functionaries of the state and party knew that the party was to be a beneficiary of the crime. And the revered head of the treasury made no protest against his party taking its share out of the pot filled through the pillage of the nation's property. Silence was golden—for the party chest.

And thus the campaign deficits of the regime in power have been paid by Harry Sinclair, and now with pious platitudes that party enters another campaign free from debt—because there was a Teapot Dome. (Applause.)

And why this strange insensibility to the common instincts of honesty and honor? Now, bear in mind the Hamiltonian theory that governments are strong in proportion as they are made profitable to the powerful. There is no moral difference between selling legislation in advance for campaign funds and selling oil reserves; and it is not remarkable that he who practices the one may condone the other. Or that he who believes that giving money to a slush fund is "just like giving money to a church" should play the silence end in the tale of the tainted bonds in the game of "Addition, Division and Silence." (Applause.)

And so we go forth to recover the government from the hands of those who pillage by law as well as those who steal by stealth. Even as a minority we dragged these loathsome crimes to light. We exposed the stealing, the perjury, the silences of the sacrosanct. We forced the restitution of the nation's stolen goods. We compelled the dismissal of Daugherty and the prosecution of Fall. Put us in possession of the government and we will turn the light on every crack and crevice and cleanse the Augean stables from mow to manger.

We have no legislation to put upon the auction block. No Harry Sinclair has paid our party debt. We are free. We unfurl the

Jeffersonian banner bearing Jefferson's device: "A good government is an honest government," and we invite all enemies of corruption to fight with us beneath its folds for the redemption of the violated honor of this republic.

#### MYTHS

Now they hope to drug the conscience of the nation with the doped soothing syrup of a fake prosperity; and we want to know what prosperity they mean. They point to a few powerful corporations enjoying the pap of paternalistic privilege, and our answer is that you can not judge the prosperity of a people by the earnings of a privileged monopoly.

Many years ago Thomas Jefferson advised a friend impressed with the evidence of prosperity in the homes of the nobility in Paris and Versailles to go out into the country and look into the pots in the fireplaces of the peasants. That is our answer now.

Four million jobless men is not prosperity; a million abandoned farms is not prosperity; the utter ruin of the basic industry of America is not prosperity; the failure of 4,000 banks in the seven years of normalcy is not prosperity; 23,146 commercial failures in the year 1927 is not prosperity; and if this year's record is foreshadowed by the first four months there will be 28,000 commercial failures in 1928.

The difference between the prosperity of the Hamiltonian "nation" that they mean and the Jeffersonian nation that we know is this: They could crowd their "nation" into one corner of this vast hall, and the nation that we know embraces cities and towns and the countryside, and 118,000,000 people in the homes of men. (Applause.) Their prosperity is a spotted thing—an evidence of disease; and we want to spread it like a healthy glow over every element and section of our population. (Applause.)

Do they offer us their claim of the payment of eight billions of the public debt up to July of last year? Our answer is that six and a third billions of this amount were paid with the money or the cash assets of the Wilson administration.

Do they offer us their record of economy? Our answer is that with the elimination of the interest on war debts, the last three years of this regime have cost the people more than four and a quarter billion more than the last three peace years of the Wilson administration.

Mythical prosperity, mythical economy, mythical facts, mythical figures, and mythical men, the last eight years may well be treated by the historian of the far future as the mythical age of American history.

## DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

And mythical, too, their virile foreign policy that was promised. We hear about it but we see it not. It is an anæmic outcast stumbling blindly in the darkness of No Man's Land. They dare not face the world made over by the war and meet new duties called for by new occasions. They found us enjoying the moral leadership of all mankind, and they have made us the most distrusted and unpopular nation on the globe.

Thus through the stupidity of their dollar diplomacy we have stumbled into a petty war with Nicaragua that is taking its daily toll of American lives. Just why we have the war no one seems to know; just how we came to have the war no one cares to tell. Do they tell us that we are there to guarantee an honest election? Why, not long ago we were unable to guarantee an honest election in the city of Philadelphia. Do they say that we are there to prevent rioting in the election? Why, at the time we were sending the marines to Nicaragua we were campaigning with bombs in the city of Chicago.

Now we propose to end dollar diplomacy in Latin America in the interest of justice; but we propose it, too, in the interest of American business. We do not propose to sacrifice the future markets of our manufacturers and merchants to serve the interest of little groups of financiers and concessionaires. There, within a generation, loom our richest markets; and we are sowing the seed from which our rivals across the sea will reap the harvest in trade. We can not submit a bill of lading at the point of a bayonet and make the Latin-Americans take it. We can not write a bill of sale with a mailed fist. We can not match a marine with a musket against a British or German salesman with a smile. We can serve the ultimate ends of business better through the noble spirit of the Mobile speech of Woodrow Wilson than they have done with their dollar diplomacy, backed by the muskets of the marines who are dying needlessly today in the swamps of Nicaragua.

## THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC STATE

My friends, never in a century has there been such a clear call to the American democracy to fight for the faith of our fathers, and never before has the control of government been so completely concentrated in the hands of a ruling caste as now. The dreams of the Hamiltonians have literally come true while the people slept. They wanted organized wealth in possession of the government—and we have it. They wanted the sovereign rights of states denied—and we have it. They wanted bureaucratic agents swarming over the land like the locusts of Egypt—and we have it. They

wanted government made profitable to the powerful—and we have it. They wanted, through administration, to make a mockery of democracy—and we have it. The Hamiltonian state is necessarily a temple of gold resting on the bowed backs of peasants in other people's fields—and we will soon have that too. They would deify dollars and minimize men, limit self-government and centralize power, cripple democracy, empower bureaucracy, welcome plutocracy—and we will soon have that too.

Give the plunderbund but eight years more of such governmental co-operation and a combination of power companies will put a few men in control of the public utilities of a mighty empire. Make no mistake about it—that is the great Jacksonian struggle of tomorrow. And with that sinister possibility upon us, the people must determine whether they will entrust their interest to those who believe that governments are strong in proportion as they are made profitable to the powerful, or to the Jeffersonians who believe that governments are created for the service of mankind. Once in possession and entrenched, the plunderbund of the power monopoly can not be dislodged by the fighting force of a dozen Andrew Jacksons.

#### BACK TO THE FUNDAMENTALS

And so we are going back—back to the old landmarks of liberty and justice in this campaign. For the benefit of those who may have grown cynical or confused, let me suggest a text: "Saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, which is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." (Applause.)

We are mobilized to lead the people back to the old paths of constitutional liberty, and to the good way. We are going back—back to the old landmarks of liberty and equality when ordinary men had rights that even privilege respected; when justice, not privilege, was the watchword of the state; when the preamble of the Declaration and the Bill of Rights had meaning; when the nation embraced every section and every class; and before the Pittsburgh Bratiano had decided to make Roumanian peasants of American farmers to fill the coffers of a purse-proud caste. (Applause.)

Our principles have been written in the triumphs of the people and baptized in the blood of our bravest and our best. Jefferson phrased them, Jackson vitalized them, Wilson applied them, and we go forth to battle for them now. (Applause.)

We face a foe grown arrogant with success. It were infamy to permit the enemy to divide us, or divert us, on the eve of such a battle. (Applause.) The issues in this campaign go to the

determination of the future destiny of our institutions and our children. The call that comes to us is as sacred as the cause of humanity itself. From the grave at the Hermitage comes the solemn warning that no party ever won or ever deserved to win that did not organize and fight unitedly for victory—and we shall thus organize and fight. (Applause.) This is a unique campaign. The very precinct committeemen and the district captains become the minute men of liberty in the reassertion of the principles of freedom.

And we shall win because our cause is just. The predatory forces before us seek a triumph for the sake of the sacking. Their shock troops are the Black Horse Cavalry whose hoofbeats have made hideous music on Pennsylvania Avenue during the last eight years. They are led by money-mad cynics and scoffers—and we go forth to battle for the cause of man. In the presence of such a foe "he who dallies is a dastard and he who doubts is damned." (Applause.) In this convention we close debate and grasp the sword. The time has come. The battle hour has struck. Then to your tents, O Israel!

MR. JUSTUS WARDELL (of California): Mr. Chairman.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Hon. Claude G. Bowers of Indiana and New York): The chair recognizes the Hon. Justus Wardell of California.

MR. JUSTUS WARDELL: I desire to present a resolution.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The clerk will report the resolution offered by the Hon. Justus Wardell of California.

THE READING SECRETARY: "Resolution—Resolved, That all petitions and resolutions introduced in the convention, except those relating to order and organization, be referred without reading or without debate to the committee on platform and resolutions."

MR. JUSTUS WARDELL: I move the adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The temporary chairman now recognizes the Hon. Claude A. Swanson of Virginia.

SENATOR CLAUDE A. SWANSON (of Virginia): I desire to present a resolution.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The senator from Virginia offers a resolution which the clerk will report.

THE READING SECRETARY: "Resolution—Resolved, That the rules of the house of representatives for the seventieth (70th) Congress, so far as applicable, shall govern this body, until otherwise authorized."

SENATOR CLAUDE A. SWANSON: I move its immediate adoption.

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the Hon. J. Henry Goeke of Ohio.

HON. J. HENRY GOEKE (of Ohio): I desire to present a resolution.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Ohio offers a resolution which the clerk will report.

THE READING SECRETARY: "Resolution—Resolved, That the roll of states, districts and territories mentioned in the call for this convention be now called, and that the names of the persons selected by the various delegations, to serve on the various committees of the convention, as follows: Committee on Credentials, Committee on Permanent Organization, Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and Committee on Platform and Resolutions, be reported, and that such committees, composed of the members reported by the various states, districts and territories, shall constitute the standing committees of this convention; that the states, districts and territories, upon the calling of the roll, shall announce a member from each state, district or territory to serve upon the committee to notify the presidential nominee of this convention; and a member to serve upon the committee to notify the vice-presidential nominee of this convention; that they shall also announce the selections of the respective states, districts and territories for honorary vice-presidents and honorary secretaries of the convention; and shall also announce the selection of the various states for membership on the Democratic National Committee."

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: In accordance with the resolution the clerk will call the roll.

The temporary reading secretary called the roll, as follows:

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Alabama—Michael Sollie.

Arizona—Harry E. Pickett.

Arkansas—Gus Jones.

California—Minor Moore.

Colorado—Walter Walker.

Connecticut—E. G. Dolan.

Delaware—George H. Otwell.

Florida—Wallace Tervin.

Georgia—A. B. Lovett.

Idaho—L. E. Dillingham.

Illinois—Frank T. Sheehan.

Indiana—R. A. Werneke.

Iowa—T. E. Diamond.

Kansas—Ed Nelson.  
Kentucky—Kelly Francis.  
Louisiana—H. G. Fields.  
Maine—D. E. Hurley.  
Maryland—J. Enos Ray.  
Massachusetts—John J. Jones.  
Michigan—John W. Bailey.  
Minnesota—H. F. Lueders.  
Mississippi—A. B. Schuber.  
Missouri—Carl L. Ristine.  
Montana—J. Bruce Kremer.  
Nebraska—Otto W. Walters.  
Nevada—C. C. Ward.  
New Hampshire—Eaton D. Sargent.  
New Jersey—Mary T. Norton.  
New Mexico—Felipe Basa y Sanchez.  
New York—John J. Fitzgerald.  
North Carolina—T. D. Warren.  
North Dakota—John Van Arnum.  
Ohio—Warren Gard.  
Oklahoma—Felix Duval.  
Oregon—Ashby C. Dickson.  
Pennsylvania—John H. McCann.  
Rhode Island—Luigi De Pasquale.  
South Carolina—R. J. Williams.  
South Dakota—W. E. Weygint.  
Tennessee—Williston Cox.  
Texas—Walter C. Woodward.  
Utah—O. R. Michelsen.  
Vermont—James Cosgrove.  
Virginia—Aubrey G. Weaver.  
Washington—Hugh C. Todd.  
West Virginia—Angus McDonald.  
Wisconsin—F. J. Rooney.  
Wyoming—Thomas M. Fagan.  
Alaska—Allen Shattuck.  
District of Columbia—M. Carter Hall.  
Hawaii—M. M. Magoon.  
Philippines—Robert E. Manly.  
Porto Rico—Jean Springstead Whittemore.  
Canal Zone—Mrs. L. O. Keen.  
Virgin Islands—F. E. Jones.

## COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

Alabama—Graham Perdue.

Arizona—Bradford Duncan.  
Arkansas—W. H. Martin.  
California—Nancy Ray Guire.  
Colorado—C. E. Hewett.  
Connecticut—Archibald McNeil.  
Delaware—Frank Collins.  
Florida—Gilchrist B. Stockton.  
Georgia—U. V. Whipple.  
Idaho—Beecher Hitchcock.  
Illinois—Blaine Huffman.  
Indiana—Joseph M. Cravens.  
Iowa—George Finch.  
Kansas—J. S. Bird.  
Kentucky—James Garnett.  
Louisiana—John P. Sullivan.  
Maine—Dan W. Cony.  
Maryland—Henry P. Turner.  
Massachusetts—Charles H. Cole.  
Michigan—James Corcoran.  
Minnesota—C. U. Landrum.  
Mississippi—H. H. Casteel.  
Missouri—Michael Kinney.  
Montana—J. E. Lane.  
Nebraska—George W. O’Malley.  
Nevada—Mrs. E. K. Smith.  
New Hampshire—James J. Powers.  
New Jersey—Charles Lafferty.  
New Mexico—Miss Grace Massie.  
New York—Alice Campbell Good.  
North Carolina—R. S. McCoin.  
North Dakota—W. H. Porter.  
Ohio—W. W. Durbin.  
Oklahoma—Frank M. Bailey.  
Oregon—J. K. Carson, Jr.  
Pennsylvania—Lillian D. Bergey.  
Rhode Island—Alberic A. Archambault.  
South Carolina—J. B. Westbrook.  
South Dakota—Thomas Brady.  
Tennessee—Wm. C. Houston, Jr.  
Texas—Mrs. Frank Gilbert.  
Utah—J. W. Robinson.  
Vermont—Park H. Pollard.  
Virginia—Richard Crane.  
Washington—Robert E. Evans.  
West Virginia—William H. Sawyer.

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Temporary Chairman of the Houston Convention, who delivered  
the Keynote Speech



Wisconsin—P. D. Cadigan.  
Wyoming—D. W. Greenburg.  
Alaska—John B. Powers.  
District of Columbia—Rowland B. Mahany.  
Hawaii—S. B. Kemp.  
Philippines—W. E. Antrim.  
Porto Rico—Benjamin J. Horton.  
Canal Zone—T. A. Aanstoos.  
Virgin Islands—F. E. Jones.

## COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Alabama—Ernest B. Fite.  
Arizona—Neri Osborn.  
Arkansas—T. D. Wynne.  
California—David E. Ewing.  
Colorado—Dr. B. L. Jefferson.  
Connecticut—James J. Walsh.  
Delaware—William G. Powders.  
Florida—Mrs. P. Wight R. Read.  
Georgia—N. A. Morris.  
Idaho—J. F. Jenny.  
Illinois—W. Joe Hill.  
Indiana—John Heller.  
Iowa—D. E. McGuire.  
Kansas—Walter Austin.  
Kentucky—Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.  
Louisiana—Jeff B. Snyder.  
Maine—Mrs. Leon G. C. Brown.  
Maryland—E. O. Weant.  
Massachusetts—Edward J. Kelly.  
Michigan—Thomas M. Ward.  
Minnesota—W. J. Quinn.  
Mississippi—Hubert D. Stephens.  
Missouri—Ed T. White.  
Montana—R. R. Purcell.  
Nebraska—Douglas Cones.  
Nevada—H. R. Cooke.  
New Hampshire—John T. O'Dowd.  
New Jersey—John Quinn.  
New Mexico—Clyde Tingley.  
New York—James J. Walker.  
North Carolina—R. O. Everett.  
North Dakota—J. L. Page.  
Ohio—J. Henry Goeke.  
Oklahoma—John Lutteral.

Oregon—Will M. Peterson.  
Pennsylvania—Robert A. Henderson.  
Rhode Island—James H. Kiernan.  
South Carolina—E. D. Smith.  
South Dakota—H. F. Fellows.  
Tennessee—J. N. Cox.  
Texas—Lynch Davidson.  
Utah—Jos. S. Chez.  
Vermont—John B. Dyer.  
Virginia—O. B. Harvey.  
Washington—E. F. Blaine.  
West Virginia—J. Lewis Bumgardner.  
Wisconsin—Leo Croweley.  
Wyoming—H. H. Schwartz.  
Alaska—J. J. Connors.  
District of Columbia—James William Bryan.  
Hawaii—B. G. Rivenburgh.  
Philippines—J. W. Williamson.  
Porto Rico—Thomas B. Lawler.  
Canal Zone—J. E. Hushing.  
Virgin Islands—Jos. Alexander.

## COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS

Alabama—Harry M. Ayers.  
Arizona—Leslie E. Hardy.  
Arkansas—T. H. Caraway.  
California—Robert M. Fitzgerald.  
Colorado—Thomas A. Duke.  
Connecticut—David E. Fitzgerald.  
Delaware—Charles F. Curley.  
Florida—H. E. Sala.  
Georgia—G. E. Maddox.  
Idaho—Ramsey M. Walker.  
Illinois—Michael L. Igoe.  
Indiana—Lew G. Ellingham.  
Iowa—Wilbur W. Marsh.  
Kansas—Paul A. Jones.  
Kentucky—A. O. Stanley.  
Louisiana—Robert Ewing.  
Maine—D. J. McGillicuddy.  
Maryland—Millard E. Tydings.  
Massachusetts—David I. Walsh.  
Michigan—William F. Connolly.  
Minnesota—T. E. Cashman.  
Mississippi—Pat Harrison.

Missouri—Bennett C. Clark.  
Montana—T. J. Walker.  
Nebraska—T. J. Thomas.  
Nevada—Key Pittman.  
New Hampshire—Robert E. Gould.  
New Jersey—Edward I. Edwards.  
New Mexico—Sam G. Bratton.  
New York—Robert F. Wagner.  
North Carolina—Josephus Daniels.  
North Dakota—P. W. Lanier.  
Ohio—Newton D. Baker.  
Oklahoma—John A. Simpson.  
Oregon—W. M. Peterson.  
Pennsylvania—S. E. Walker.  
Rhode Island—Joseph H. Gaines.  
South Carolina—Cole L. Blease.  
South Dakota—Holton Davenport.  
Tennessee—Mitchell Long.  
Texas—Dan Moody.  
Utah—W. W. Ray.  
Vermont—Fred C. Martin.  
Virginia—Carter Glass.  
Washington—Scott Bullitt.  
West Virginia—J. J. Coniff.  
Wisconsin—Calvin Stewart.  
Wyoming—Joseph C. O'Mahoney.  
Alaska—John W. Troy.  
District of Columbia—Breckenridge Long.  
Hawaii—L. L. McCandless.  
Philippines—L. J. Lambert.  
Porto Rico—Henry W. Dooley.  
Canal Zone—Louis Townsley.  
Virgin Islands—H. V. Berg.

## COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

Alabama—William J. Foster.  
Arizona—Mike Hannon.  
Arkansas—Mrs. Eugene Cox.  
California—Justus S. Wardell.  
Colorado—George C. West.  
Connecticut—Thomas Cahill.  
Delaware—T. Marvel Goodin.  
Florida—M. O. Harrison.  
Georgia—Clifford Walker.  
Idaho—James H. Hawley.

Illinois—Melvin A. Traylor.  
Indiana—Dale J. Crittenberger.  
Iowa—Thomas Walsh.  
Kansas—Mrs. Mary F. Carney.  
Kentucky—C. E. Evans.  
Louisiana—S. R. Lee, (Alternate, T. Arthur Edwards).  
Maine—Hon. P. J. Byrnes.  
Maryland—E. Brooke Lee.  
Massachusetts—Jas. M. Curley.  
Michigan—George W. Weadock.  
Minnesota—John Ryan.  
Mississippi—W. T. Wynne, Mrs. Sadie Still, G. D. Eastland.  
Missouri—Jos. B. Shannon.  
Montana—Wm. H. Maloney and Mrs. W. W. Hamilton.  
Nebraska—Frank J. Taylor.  
Nevada—Geo. Parker.  
New Hampshire—Miss Mary J. Connor.  
New Jersey—John F. Boyle.  
New Mexico—  
New York—Rev. Ralph Jarvis Walker.  
North Carolina—Ed G. Flanigan.  
North Dakota—F. F. Burchard.  
Ohio—M. R. Denver, Mrs. Frank P. McGowan.  
Oklahoma—Scott Glenn.  
Oregon—J. D. Burns.  
Pennsylvania—Jos. F. Guffey.  
Rhode Island—Theodore F. Green.  
South Carolina—Cole L. Blease.  
South Dakota—John H. Firey.  
Tennessee—T. R. Preston.  
Texas—John Boyle.  
Utah—Wilson McCarthy.  
Vermont—Dr. Patrick Mahoney.  
Virginia—Jas. M. Barron.  
Washington—William Pigott.  
West Virginia—L. S. Corbly, Mrs. Perly Byrd.  
Wisconsin—H. B. Kaempfer.  
Wyoming—Dr. J. R. Hylton.  
Alaska—Thomas Riggs.  
District of Columbia—M. Carter Hall.  
Hawaii—J. Walter Doyle.  
Philippines—Wm. H. Anderson.  
Porto Rico—Lee H. Vendig.  
Canal Zone—E. Eisemann.  
Virgin Islands—F. E. Jones.

## COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

- Alabama—J. S. Benson.  
Arizona—S. P. Morgan.  
Arkansas—Robert A. Ragsdale.  
California—Gen. James Donovan.  
Colorado—Mrs. Amy Philbin.  
Connecticut—Mrs. Martin Caine.  
Delaware—Isaac Giles.  
Florida—Mrs. Fred Nooney.  
Georgia—Mrs. O. W. Kinney.  
Idaho—M. Alexander.  
Illinois—C. N. Hollerich.  
Indiana—Ed Mason.  
Iowa—R. J. Mitchell.  
Kansas—Mrs. Frank L. Britton.  
Kentucky—Mrs. H. K. Bourne.  
Louisiana—G. L. Porterie.  
Maine—Mrs. P. G. Byrnes.  
Maryland—Daniel J. Loden.  
Massachusetts—Jos. B. Ely.  
Michigan—Henry H. Heimann.  
Minnesota—Mrs. E. L. McNulty.  
Mississippi—Mrs. Ellen Woodward, Miss Daisy Rogers, Thos. L. Bailey.  
Missouri—Mrs. Alice M. Ferris.  
Montana—Thos. P. McGrath, Mrs. R. C. Battey.  
Nebraska—Mrs. Evelyn A. Ryan.  
Nevada—E. S. Shepherd.  
New Hampshire—Clement A. Roy.  
New Jersey—Adeline Y. Lawrence.  
New Mexico—Milner Rudolph.  
New York—Lithgow Osborne.  
North Carolina—W. S. Britt.  
North Dakota—John Ehre.  
Ohio—Harry Taylor, Catherine Carter.  
Oklahoma—Mrs. Wirt Randolph.  
Oregon—Geo. L. Curry.  
Pennsylvania—Leon M. Levy.  
Rhode Island—Mortimer A. Sullivan.  
South Carolina—R. S. Stewart.  
South Dakota—Charles Eastman.  
Tennessee—C. A. Miller.  
Texas—Mrs. Laura Burleson Negley.  
Utah—W. J. Halloran, Mrs. Wm. Osborne.  
Vermont—James P. Galleher.

Virginia—Daniel L. Porter.  
Washington—Charles Rantz.  
West Virginia—Andrew Edmiston, Jr., Mrs. J. T. Lanibert.  
Wisconsin—T. S. Brzonkala.  
Wyoming—Mrs. P. J. Quealy.  
Alaska—A. A. Shonbeck.  
District of Columbia—Marie D. Marye.  
Hawaii—L. L. McCandless.  
Philippines—Stewart Tait.  
Porto Rico—W. Reece Bennett.  
Canal Zone—E. Eisenmann.  
Virgin Islands—Lucius J. M. Malmin.

## HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

Alabama—David H. Eddington.  
Arizona—E. E. Bollinger.  
Arkansas—Mrs. Maude Phillips.  
California—Cecelia C. Casserly.  
Colorado—Chas. D. Vail.  
Connecticut—Edw. Keegan.  
Delaware—Isaac Giles.  
Florida—John W. Watson.  
Georgia—Chas. R. Crisp.  
Idaho—W. O. Chapman.  
Illinois—R. E. Kimborough.  
Indiana—Hume Sammons.  
Iowa—Fred Hageman.  
Kansas—Geo. McGill.  
Kentucky—Mrs. D. L. Moore.  
Louisiana—Mrs. Stella Hamlin.  
Maine—Wm. M. Ingraham.  
Maryland—Walter J. Mitchell.  
Massachusetts—Roland D. Sawyer.  
Michigan—George D. Jackson.  
Minnesota—W. F. Donohue.  
Mississippi—  
Missouri—  
Montana—Dr. Powell.  
Nebraska—J. P. Baldwin.  
Nevada—Ray T. Baker.  
New Hampshire—James F. Brennan.  
New Jersey—Charles V. Duffy.  
New Mexico—Mrs. H. V. Sherril.  
New York—Rosilie L. Phillips.  
North Carolina—J. A. Brown.

North Dakota—Wesley M. McDowell.  
Ohio—M. A. Daugherty.  
Oklahoma—John Carr.  
Oregon—John Manning.  
Pennsylvania—John R. Collins.  
Rhode Island—Wm. S. Flynn.  
South Carolina—Claude Sapp.  
South Dakota—  
Tennessee—Mrs. Horace Vandaventer.  
Texas—Mrs. Lee Rountree.  
Utah—Mrs. Wilson McCarthy.  
Vermont—P. E. Sullivan.  
Virginia—Mrs. Scott Litton.  
Washington—R. L. Davis.  
West Virginia—Dave Coffin.  
Wisconsin—  
Wyoming—T. W. O'Hara.  
Alaska—Thomas Gaffney.  
District of Columbia—John B. Colpoys.  
Hawaii—Wm. H. Heen.  
Philippines—Wm. H. Anderson.  
Porto Rico—Rafael Rios.  
Canal Zone—Conde J. Boyle.  
Virgin Islands—

## HONORARY SECRETARIES

Alabama—Samuel Dawson.  
Arizona—David Hopkins.  
Arkansas—Miss Emma Riley.  
California—Chauncy Tramutolo.  
Colorado—Mrs. William McClure.  
Connecticut—O. G. Hanks.  
Delaware—Henry T. Graham.  
Florida—Mrs. A. I. Miller.  
Georgia—Miss Emily Woodward.  
Idaho—C. B. Wilson.  
Illinois—John D. Waterman.  
Indiana—Lowell Neff.  
Iowa—Frank Miles.  
Kansas—Herman L. Gees.  
Kentucky—R. R. Dalton.  
Louisiana—W. B. Lee.  
Maine—Mrs. Mabelle P. Chaney.  
Maryland—William P. Lane, Jr.  
Massachusetts—Charles F. Riordan.

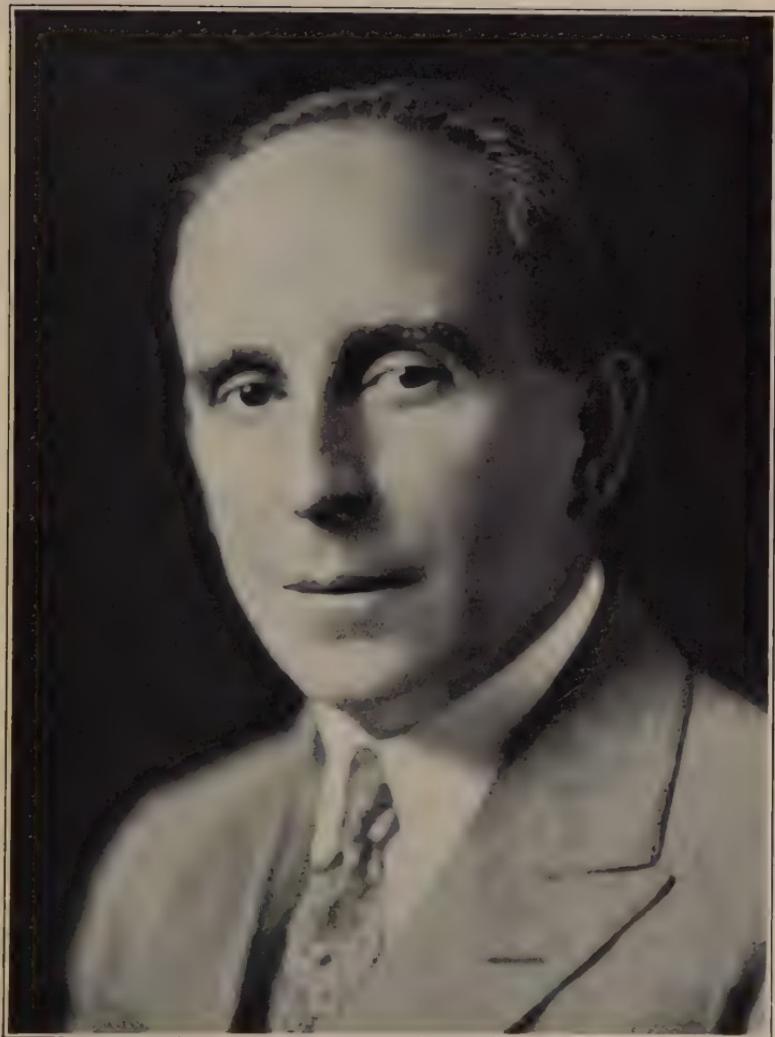
Michigan—Patrick H. Kane.  
Minnesota—Viggo Justesson.  
Mississippi—Miss Daisy Rogers.  
Missouri—  
Montana—F. R. Van de Putte.  
Nebraska—Ethel Watt.  
Nevada—Frank McCaffrey.  
New Hampshire—Allie J. Connor.  
New Jersey—  
New Mexico—Frank J. Horn.  
New York—James F. Egan.  
North Carolina—Miss May F. Jern, Miss Beatrice Cobb.  
North Dakota—R. L. Hawes.  
Ohio—  
Oklahoma—R. A. Sneed.  
Oregon—  
Pennsylvania—William Kaul.  
Rhode Island—Harry A. Baker.  
South Carolina—W. Marshall Bridges.  
South Dakota—  
Tennessee—Baxter Lee.  
Texas—H. P. Hornby.  
Utah—Mrs. R. E. L. Collier.  
Vermont—William A. Gleason.  
Virginia—R. G. Williams.  
Washington—Nella Hurd.  
West Virginia—Mrs. Nettie Vass Steel.  
Wisconsin—R. T. Moore.  
Wyoming—Mrs. H. H. Schwartz.  
Alaska—James McCloskey.  
District of Columbia—John T. Ready.  
Hawaii—Mrs. L. L. McCandless.  
Philippines—L. J. Lambert.  
Porto Rico—Ouida Seigel Hernandez.  
Canal Zone—Gus Eisenmann.  
Virgin Islands—

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mrs. Maude Crosby of Colorado.

MRS. CROSBY (of Colorado): Mr. Chairman, I offer this resolution, which I ask to be read, and move its adoption.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The clerk will read the resolution.

THE TEMPORARY READING SECRETARY (reading): "Resolved, That the various committees selected by the several states, as follows, be confirmed by this convention: Committee on Credentials, Committee on Rules and Order of Business, Committee on



Blank & Stoller

**JOHN J. RASKOB**  
Chairman Democratic National Committee



Permanent Organization; Committee on Platform and Resolutions; Committee to Notify the Presidential Nominee; Committee to Notify the Vice-Presidential Nominee, Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Convention and Honorary Secretaries of the Convention."

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The secretary of the convention has some announcements to which the delegates will please give attention.

MR. CHARLES A. GREATHOUSE (of Indiana, secretary of the Democratic National Committee): This is a very important announcement. I will announce the places of meeting of the various standing committees. The Committee on Credentials will meet in Room 508 in the Democratic Building at Main and McKinney immediately after the adjournment of this evening session.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business will meet at Room 510 in the Democratic Building tomorrow morning at 10:00 a. m.

The Committee on Permanent Organization will meet in Room 610 in the Democratic Building at 10:00 a. m. tomorrow morning.

The Committee on Resolutions and Platforms will meet in the auditorium of the Public Library at 10:00 a. m. tomorrow morning. Mr. R. Earl Peters of Indiana is the secretary.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The clerk will read an announcement.

THE TEMPORARY READING SECRETARY (reading): "There will be a meeting of all ex-service men attending this convention at the Elks' Club immediately following this session.

"All ticket-holders will please remember that tomorrow's session will be the third session of the convention.

"The ladies of the Texas delegation invite the ladies of all the delegations to a breakfast at the Rice Roof at 9:30 a. m."

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The chair will recognize Mr. John J. Fitzgerald of New York.

MR. JOHN J. FITZGERALD (of New York): Mr. Chairman, I move that we adjourn until 11:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

## Second Day

### FIRST SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 27, 1928,  
11:00 o'Clock A. M.

**THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN:** The convention will come to order. The Reverend George Gilmour, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Denver, Colorado, will deliver the invocation. The audience will please arise.

**REVEREND GEORGE GILMOUR** (pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Denver, Colorado): Bowing in the presence of the Infinite Spirit, we reaffirm our belief in a republic of righteousness, in loyalty to truth, to justice and the daily needs of our fellow beings.

From this convention, with its great possibilities for America and the world, may there resound through the nation an incorruptible integrity, a more sacred regard for right. That most democratic of all men, the Man of Nazareth, esteemed his fellows in proportion as they had the courage to act their convictions, if they were connected with the promotion of a more abundant life for the great multitude of mankind.

He judged issues by their soundness. With Him prosperity was a fuller life for all. It was a greater good, not to swell the temporal fortunes of the few, but like the rain that falls on the just and the unjust, to give the blessings of God to all his creatures.

Reconstruction of the political ideals of our beloved country is the great need of our day. May that divinest of all thoughts glow in our minds and hearts: That we are linked together by the laws of existence, by contact and interdependence in order that no part of humanity might go on and leave a large part of the rank and file apart from the divine rivers that irrigate life.

May this democratic spirit of humanity be flowing in our veins —hatred of all sacrifice of human welfare on any account whatever. May we realize that we do not enter into the sphere of the democracy of our greatest leaders until there is a passionate horror of all selfishness and greed and a passionate love of all that promotes human happiness; concentration of all powers in living for a nobler humanization of man and his world. As we gaze at the sacred light of our democratic ideals, we think of the

bright, holy life to which we are called. In this sacred light we would remember continuously and considerately that life also has a wintry aspect for thousands. By letting our light shine in and after this convention, with sublime moral qualities glowing in our political conduct, living, moving and having our being in them, we can bring the springtide of hope to countless numbers of our fellow countrymen.

May we go forth from this convention in the hardy spirit of our forefathers—that we may further establish and complete their work—in which government shall be of the people, wisely directed by the people and in the interest of the numerous families of America, to secure the blessings of freedom to ourselves and our posterity.

So may the prayer of our hearts be acceptable unto Thee and come out in our daily life as fair as the lilies and as lasting as the stars. Amen.

**THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN:** The chair will now make some announcements.

**THE TEMPORARY READING SECRETARY:** I am requested to announce that J. F. Reed is wanted at once at the Committee on Resolutions at the library.

Tickets used at this session are those for the third session. The next session will call for the tickets for the fourth session.

There will be a meeting of the Democratic ex-Service Men's League at the Elk's Club at 8:30 p. m. today, Dr. N. D. Williams, chairman.

**THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN:** The chair recognizes the Honorable J. Bruce Kremer of Montana, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, who will submit his report.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

**MR. J. BRUCE KREMER** (of Montana, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reading): "Mr. Chairman and members of this convention: Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to submit the following report:

"The committee met at Room 508, Democratic Building, corner Main and McKinney Streets, Houston, Texas, at eleven o'clock p. m., on June 26, 1928, and elected J. Bruce Kremer of Montana chairman and Minor Moore of California, secretary, and proceeded to dispose of the matters that were laid before it. There were submitted five contests: One from the first district of the state of Pennsylvania; one from the fifth district of the state of Pennsylvania; one from the state of Louisiana; one from the District of Columbia, and one from the Canal Zone. The contests

were given full hearings and your committee recommends as follows:

"1. That the contests from the first and fifth districts of the state of Pennsylvania be dismissed.

"2. That the contest in the state of Louisiana be dismissed and that the following delegation be placed upon the permanent roll of delegates and alternates:

#### LOUISIANA

##### *Delegates-at-Large*

Huey P. Long.....	Shreveport
Edwin S. Broussard.....	New Iberia
Jos. E. Ransdall.....	Lake Providence
Robert Ewing.....	New Orleans

##### *General Congressional Delegates*

John P. Sullivan.....	Balter Bldg., New Orleans
Robert S. Masotri.....	Maritime Bldg., New Orleans
Paul H. Maloney.....	721 St. Charles St., New Orleans
Fred H. Mecom.....	Clarks
Dr. Thos. H. Stark.....	Thibodaux
James A. Peterman.....	Franklin
W. Burch Lee.....	Shreveport
John C. Davey.....	Maritime Bldg., New Orleans
P. M. Atkins.....	Monroe
Jeff B. Snyder.....	Tallulah

##### *District Delegates*

6—Eugene Cazedessus.....	Baton Rouge
Louis L. Morgan.....	Covington
7—Dudley L. Guilbeau.....	Opelousas
V. Clifford Vaughn.....	Kinder
8—S. R. Lee.....	Alexandria
Gaston L. Porterie.....	Marksville

##### *Alternates-at-Large*

H. G. Fields.....	Farmersville
T. Arthur Edwards.....	Lake Charles
W. H. Sullivan.....	Bogalusa
A. J. Alford.....	Amite

##### *General Congressional Alternates*

Jules Moustier.....	824 Burgundy St., New Orleans
Paul B. Habans.....	City Hall, New Orleans
John J. O'Neill.....	1211 Coliseum St., New Orleans
Edward A. Haggerty.....	1419 Constance St., New Orleans
I. W. Gajan.....	New Iberia

Dr. R. A. Comeaux.....	Abbeville
Dr. L. E. Sanderson.....	Shreveport
S. P. Assenheimer.....	321 Hillary St., New Orleans
A. E. Kell.....	Tallulah
Mrs. E. T. Lampkin.....	Monroe

*District Alternates*

Charles E. Schwing.....	Plaquemine
Eugene B. Watson.....	Amite
Jos. Hardy.....	Ville Platte
Roy E. Deaton.....	Lake Charles
Albert L. Smith.....	Winnfield
Miss Marie Breazeale.....	Natchitoches

"3. That the contest from the District of Columbia involving the seats of the delegation placed upon the temporary roll be dismissed.

"4. That the contest from the Canal Zone involving the seats of the delegation placed upon the temporary roll be dismissed.

"5. Your committee considered a protest against the seating of the delegation from the Virgin Islands, and recommends that the delegation placed upon the temporary roll be seated.

"6. Your committee further recommends that the following changes in the temporary roll be made in the Georgia delegation:

"Hon. Bruce Dubberly of Glénnville as an alternate from the first congressional district of Georgia, in lieu of Hon. Howell Cone of Statesboro, Georgia.

"Hon. W. W. Armistead of Crawford as an alternate from the eighth district, in lieu of Hon. Ed Adams of Tignall.

"Hon. John R. Lewis of Louisville as a delegate from the tenth district, in lieu of Hon. Inman Curry of Augusta.

"Hon. Paul A. Bowden of Thomson as an alternate from the tenth district, in lieu of Hon. Jule Evans of Warrenton.

"Hon. W. C. King of Kingsland as a delegate from the eleventh district, in lieu of Hon. Harry Reed of Wateriss.

"7. Your committee recommends that the following changes be made in the temporary roll of the delegates from Tennessee: Austin Peay, in lieu of Mrs. Marc Anthony, as delegate-at-large. D. M. Sparkman, in lieu of Mrs. W. B. Bell, as delegate from the ninth district.

## ALTERNATES

"Miss Willie Clage, in lieu of D. M. Guinn, as delegate from the first district.

"Mrs. Horace Vanderverte, in lieu of Mrs. James Trimble, as delegate from the second district.

"Walter M. Hayes, in lieu of J. Earl May, as delegate from the third district.

"H. N. Anderson, in lieu of A. M. Patterson, as delegate from the eighth district.

"Frank L. Rice, in lieu of W. L. Terry, as delegate from the tenth district.

"In addition to the foregoing, your committee further recommends that the temporary roll be made the permanent roll of this convention.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) J. BRUCE KREMER, Chairman.  
MINOR MOORE, Secretary."

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The question was taken, but the result was not announced.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Convention: The chair recognizes Colonel Carl L. Ristine of Missouri to present a minority report. (Applause.)

#### MINORITY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

MR. CARL L. RISTINE (of Missouri): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Owing to the lateness of the hour when this committee finished its business this morning, the minority did not have time to prepare and sign their report. I think the committee adjourned about 4:00 a. m. However, I have the minority report here. I have signed it, and I expect to ask permission of the convention to allow the other members to sign it after it has been presented to the convention. I am presenting this minority report as a protest against the action taken by the majority report, and I am not even going to ask that the matter be debated or voted upon, but I did not want to go on record, nor the other members of the minority, as having ratified the majority report. I will now read the minority report (reading):

"We, a minority of your Committee on Credentials, beg leave to dissent from the report of the majority of the committee as to the right of the delegates from the state of Louisiana, certified to the convention by the state executive committee of Louisiana, upon the following grounds:

"First, because said delegates were selected and chosen alone by the state executive committee of said state, contrary to law, precedent, and without authority, and without notice or opportunity to the democracy of that state. (Applause.)

"Second, because the state executive committee refused and declined to call either precinct or parish conventions or a state convention to select delegates to this convention, in accordance with law, and the established usage of the party, both in the nation and in the state of Louisiana, thereby depriving the Democrats of the state of Louisiana of every opportunity to participate in the selection of delegates to this convention, and did usurp the power and right inherent in the body of the Democrats of Louisiana to choose their representative in the national convention.

"Third, for more than sixty years the unbroken usage and practice in the state of Louisiana for the selection of delegates to the national convention has been through the voice of state conventions duly constituted by representatives from the parishes of the state; that the state executive committee, having no authority therefor, or without occasion, emergency or necessity, usurped the authority inherent in the Democracy of Louisiana, and undertook to name the delegates to this convention; and the said delegates, in the opinion of the minority, are without right to seats in this convention.

"Fourth, after the said usurpation of authority by the state executive committee, certain parishes in that state, in the only manner available to them, assembled and elected delegates to this convention, and have presented their claims and credentials to your committee; that, while the manner of their selection may not have been in all respects in accordance with the usages of the Democracy, the action of the executive committee left them no other course for representation in this convention, except through the action which was pursued by the Democrats of the parishes as herein stated.

"All things considered, your minority is of the opinion that the delegates certified to this convention are not entitled to participate in the convention, and to the end that the state of Louisiana may not be without representation in this convention, the contesting or protesting delegates from that state ought to be seated, and this, the minority of your committee, recommends.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) CARL L. RISTINE,

(Applause.) Member from Missouri."

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The question is on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The question was taken and the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

THE PERMANENT ROLL OF DELEGATES AND  
ALTERNATES AS ADOPTED

## ALABAMA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Harry M. Ayers.....	Anniston
Borden Burr .....	Birmingham
A. H. Carmichael.....	Tuscaloosa
T. S. Faulk.....	Samson

*District Delegates*

1—Albert S. Johnson....	Grove Hill
David H. Eddington....	Mobile
2—D. M. Powell.....	Greenville
A. T. Kendrick.....	Greenville
3—Michael Sollie.....	Ozark
G. L. Comer.....	Eufaula
4—D. C. Cooper.....	Oxford
Hugh M. Comer.....	Sycamore
5—W. D. Graves....	Alexander City
J. Monroe Holley....	Wetumpka
6—Thos. F. Seale.....	Livingston
Wm. J. Foster.....	Tuscaloosa
7—J. B. Wadsworth.....	Gadsden
Webb Chesnut .....	Gaylesville
8—J. S. Benson.....	Scottsboro
H. L. Reeder.....	Florence
9—Samuel Dawson ...	Birmingham
Graham Perdue .....	Birmingham
10—W. S. Childers.....	Jasper
Ernest B. Fite.....	Hamilton

*Alternates-at-Large*

B. G. Farmer.....	Dothan
Hugh Merrill .....	Anniston
Jno. H. Bankhead.....	Birmingham
F. T. Raiford.....	Selma

*District Alternates*

Frederick I. Thompson.....	Mobile
J. T. Hines.....	McWilliams
Leopold Strauss .....	Montgomery
Dr. R. A. Smith.....	Brewton
W. N. Morris.....	Samson
D. W. Baker.....	Dothan
G. Bowie Smith.....	Selma
R. L. Lacey.....	Selma
T. H. Radney.....	Alexander City
Dr. Jesse Gulledge.....	Tallassee
Fleetwood Rice .....	Tuscaloosa
Jerome T. Fuller.....	Centerville
R. F. Ashley.....	Springville
T. S. Christopher .....	
R. H. Walker.....	Athens
R. T. Simpson, Sr.....	Florence
Frank E. Curtis.....	Woodward
Mrs. J. M. Hankins.....	Birmingham
J. C. Milner.....	Vernon
W. W. Beasley.....	Carrollton

## ARIZONA

*Delegates*

Nancy Lindemann .....	Flagstaff
Harry E. Pickett.....	Douglas
Harry V. Beno.....	Miami
M. J. Hannon.....	Clifton
Neri Osborn, Sr.....	Phoenix
J. A. Sisson.....	Phoenix
E. Elmo Bollinger .....	Kingman
Ed A. Sawyer.....	Winslow
Bradford Duncan .....	Tucson
S. P. Morgan.....	Casa Grande
Leslie Hardy .....	Nogales
Dave Hopkins .....	Clarkdale

*Alternates*

John B. Hart.....	Douglas
James Kennedy .....	Flagstaff
Charles E. Burleens .....	Miami
Frank Preston .....	Pima
W. T. Wright .....	Globe
Mrs. Samuel White .....	Phoenix
Charles R. Waters.....	Kingman
B. J. McKinney .....	Casa Grande
Mrs. Lillian Durham .....	Tucson
Tom Frazier .....	Ray
Mrs. J. Andrew West .....	Prescott
Mrs. Nellie Bush .....	Parker

## ARKANSAS

*Delegates-at-Large*

Joe T. Robinson.....	Little Rock
T. H. Caraway.....	Jonesboro
Wm. A. Oldfield .....	Batesville
W. H. Martin.....	Hot Springs
Mrs. Eugene Cox .....	Mena
Mrs. B. L. Willy.....	Pine Bluff
Mrs. Maude W. Phillips .....	Malvern
Miss Emma Riley.....	Little Rock

*Alternates-at-Large*

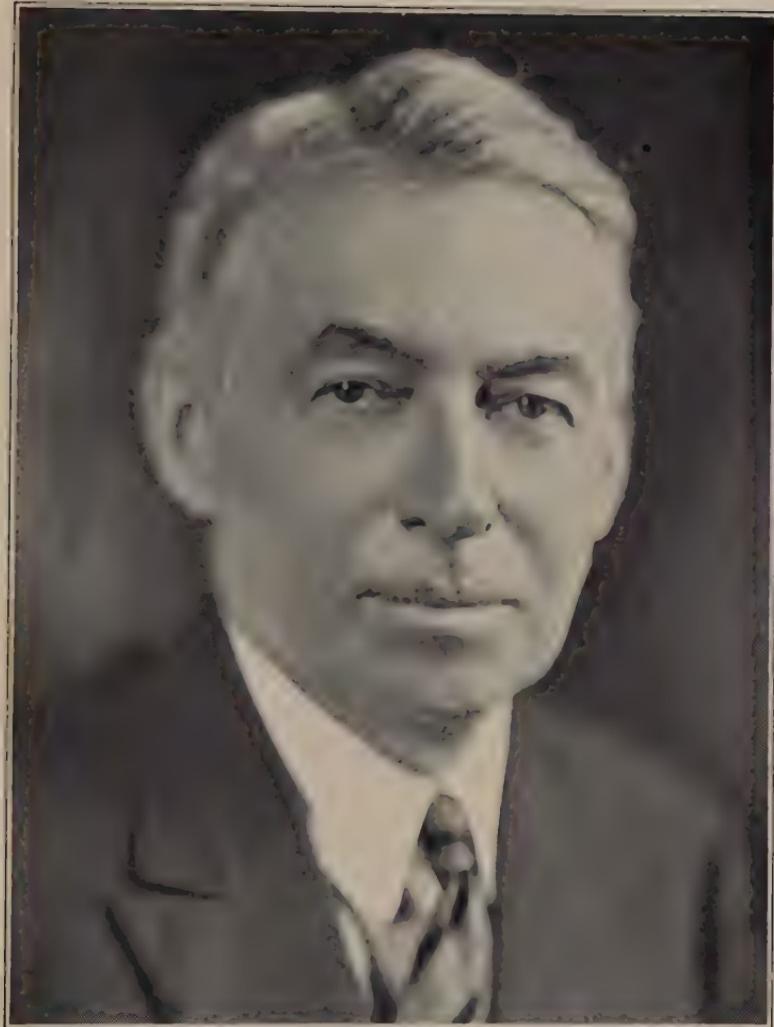
H. C. Couch.....	Pine Bluff
W. D. Jackson.....	Little Rock
Gustave Jones .....	Newport
W. J. Echols.....	Fort Smith
Mrs. L. H. Pickhardt .....	Huntsville
Mrs. W. D. Jackson .....	Little Rock
Mrs. Bessie Florence .....	Hot Springs
Mrs. Frank Dodge .....	Little Rock

*District Delegates*

1—Edwin Bevins .....	Helena
C. E. Daggett.....	Marianna
2—Z. M. McCarroll .....	Walnut Ridge
Dr. W. H. Abington.....	Beebe
3—J. Frank Carson .....	Yellville
John R. Duty.....	Rogers
4—Thos. B. Pryor .....	Fort Smith
Charles I. Evans.....	Booneville
5—Robert A. Ragsdale .....	Russellville
Clifton Scott.....	Little Rock

*District Alternates*

John H. Hawthorne .....	Jonesboro
Henry A. Quellmalz .....	Peach Orchard
W. T. Jennings .....	Melbourne
A. C. Wilkerson .....	Newport
Marion Wasson .....	Gentry
Sam L. Nance .....	Jasper
J. I. Alley .....	Mena
M. F. Chestnut .....	Texarkana
George W. Clark .....	Conway
Mrs. John F. Weinmann .....	Little Rock



Harris & Ewing

**CLEM SHAVER**

Former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee



*District Delegates*

- 6—T. D. Wynne.....Fordyce  
 George List.....Pine Bluff  
 7—Harry E. Cook.....Lake Village  
 Elbert Godwin .....Camden

*District Alternates*

- Scott McGehee .....McGehee  
 J. W. Ferguson.....Benton  
 Steve Carrigan .....Hope  
 W. D. Stewart .....Lewisville

*Delegates*

- James D. Phelan .....San Francisco  
 Gertrude Atherton .....San Francisco  
 J. J. Trabucco.....Mariposa  
 Nancy R. Guire .....Colton  
 Minor Moore .....Los Angeles  
 Cecelia Casserly .....San Mateo  
 Milton Bryan .....Los Angeles  
 Lucretia D. Grady .....Berkeley  
 Justus Wardell.....San Francisco  
 I. I. Irwin.....San Diego  
 Elsie Greenbaum.....San Francisco  
 Dr. Z. T. Malaby.....Pasadena  
 William Maddux .....Fulton  
 John F. Quinn.....Eureka  
 James M. Allen .....Yreka  
 Marie A. Larkey .....Glendale  
 Charles L. Culbert .....Jackson  
 George Vice .....Sacramento  
 George Catts .....Stockton  
 Robt. M. Fitzgerald.....Oakland  
 Frank J. Hennessy...San Francisco  
 James F. Peck.....Oakland  
 Philip G. Sheehy.....San Jose  
 James Donovan.....Los Angeles  
 F. W. Greer.....Brawley  
 George Hay .....Bakersfield  
 George R. Martin .....Los Angeles  
 J. A. Bardin.....Salinas  
 T. A. Reardon.....San Francisco  
 David S. Ewing .....Fresno

## CALIFORNIA

*Alternates*

- E. H. Heller  
 Thomas W. Hickey  
 Mrs. Val King  
 Larry Walsh  
 Tim Treacy  
 E. G. De Staute  
 John McCarthy  
 P. W. Croake  
 S. A. Guiberson, Jr.  
 H. H. Whiting  
 W. B. Bunker  
 Chancy Tromatulo  
 Ernest Martin  
 Mrs. Thomas A. Driscoll  
 Maurice E. Harrison  
 Ben Tarver  
 Frank H. Buck  
 Victor H. Harding  
 Paul E. Mudgett  
 Chas. Allison  
 A. H. Swallow  
 Joseph M. Campodonico  
 Dan Doran  
 Mrs. Jane Anthony  
 Edward Walsh  
 Mrs. Bird Hobdy  
 Wm. Kettner  
 Mazie L. French  
 Clyde H. Thompson  
 Richard Doyle

## COLORADO

*Delegates-at-Large*

- W. W. Grant, Jr.....Denver  
                             Equitable Bldg.  
 Mrs. Maude Crosby.....Denver  
                             Court House  
 Dr. C. M. Worth.....Yuma  
 Mrs. Dorothy F. Whistleman.....  
                             Ft. Collins  
 Charles H. Wooden.....Lamar  
 Mrs. William McClure..Monte Vista  
 George C. West.....Durango  
 Mrs. Amy Philbin.....Salida

- Alternates-at-Large*  
 Thomas E. Howard.....Denver  
                             Bank Bldg.  
 Mrs. Hattie Burdette.....Denver  
                             1242 Corona St.  
 Louis Bertolett .....Littleton  
 Mrs. E. J. Tippins.....Limon  
 William H. Young.....Denver  
                             State Office Bldg.  
 Fred H. Betz.....Lamar  
 Charles T. Rawalt.....Gunnison  
 William Haywood .....Telluride

*District Delegates*

- 1—Chas. D. Vail.....Denver  
                             City Hall  
 George E. Lewis.....Denver  
                             1125 S. Gilpin St.  
 2—Charles E. Hewitt.....Greeley  
 L. C. Paddock.....Boulder  
 3—Thomas A. Duke.....Pueblo  
                             511 W. Thirteenth St.  
 T. M. Hudson.....Gardner  
 4—Dr. B. L. Jefferson.....Steamboat Springs  
                             Walter Walker...Grand Junction

*District Alternates*

- Samuel Feldman .....Denver  
                             1624 Court Place  
 Phillip McCarthy .....Denver  
                             1545 E. Thirty-first Ave.  
 Norton Montgomery ....Edgewater  
 U. J. Warren.....Fort Morgan  
 Herman A. Bailey.....Las Animas

- Mrs. Emma Hammond.....Pueblo  
 Clyde H. Stewart.....Delta  
 Joseph Quinn.....Grand Junction

## CONNECTICUT

*Delegates-at-Large*

- Thomas J. Spellacy.....Hartford  
                             750 Main St.  
 David E. Fitzgerald....New Haven  
                             185 Church St.

- Alternates-at-Large*  
 Charles G. Morris.....New Haven  
                             Box 875  
 John Cavanaugh....South Norwalk  
                             C. & K. Hat Co.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*Delegates-at-Large*

James J. Walsh.....	Meriden
William E. Thoms.....	Waterbury Lilley Bldg.
Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	Norwalk 10 Union Park
Mrs. Alice Mooney.....	Waterbury City Hall
Mrs. Martin Caine .....	Naugatuck
Mrs. Edward J. Keegan.....	Wilsonville
Dr. E. G. Dolan.....	Manchester 689 Main St.
Edward Miner.....	New Haven Conn. Sash and Door Co.

*District Delegates*

1—Thomas J. Smith....	New Britain
J. Francis Browne.....	Thompsonville Pearl St.
2—Czro G. Hanks.....	Mansfield Center
Patrick Sweeney .....	Norwich
3—Thomas E. Cahill.....	New Haven 42 Church St.
Leo V. Sullivan.....	Branford
4—Archibald McNeil.....	Bridgeport
M. Augustus Lynch.....	Danbury
5—Peter Fitzhenry .....	Waterbury City Hall
Charles J. Moore.....	Torrington

*Alternates-at-Large*

David McCoy.....	New Haven
	185 Church St.
Frank Guilfoile .....	Waterbury City Hall
George Hickey .....	Willimantic
Mrs. Mabelle Fletcher.....	East Hartford 37 Tower Ave.
Martin Caine .....	Naugatuck
Edward J. Keegan.....	Wilsonville
Mrs. Fannie Dixon.....	Columbia

Thomas Maher.....	New Haven
	Morris Cove

*District Alternates*

Mrs. Marion Roberts.....	Hartford
	181 New Britain Ave.
Ufa Guthrie .....	Hartford
	36 Pearl St.
Dr. Eugene M. Clifford .....	Hartford
	57 Pratt St.
Charles Fisk .....	Middletown
Joseph Tone.....	New Haven
Arthur Mullen.....	New Haven
Harry Platt .....	Trumbull
Anthony Sunderland .....	Danbury
Fred McCarthy .....	Ansonia
John Crary .....	Waterbury City Hall

## DELAWARE

*Delegates*

Charles F. Curley.....	Wilmington
Frank Collins .....	Newark
T. Marvel Gooden.....	Dover
William G. Powders.....	Milford
George H. Otwell.....	Laurel
Isaac Giles .....	Seaford

*Alternates*

Mrs. Mary Morris.....	Wilmington
Miss Helen Shallcross.....	Middletown
Jester A. Gray.....	Frederica
Willard D. Boyce.....	Cheswold
Andrew J. Lynch.....	Georgetown
Capt. John H. Long.....	Frankford

## FLORIDA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Edgar W. Waybright.....	Jacksonville
W. F. Allen.....	Titusville
M. O. Harrison.....	Palmetto
Bryan Mack .....	Lakeland
Mrs. Lena Bird .....	Greenville
Mrs. Alvina Craig.....	Winter Haven
Mrs. Fred Nooney .....	Jacksonville
Mrs. Dwight R. Read.....	Milton

*Alternates-at-Large*

Franklin O. King.....	Orlando
Wade Harrison .....	Palmetto
E. J. Dickens.....	Tampa
I. E. Phillips.....	Jacksonville
Mrs. W. F. Allen.....	Tallahassee
Mrs. H. E. Sala.....	Miami
Mrs. Lila M. Kiddy .....	Jacksonville
Mrs. Cora Johnson .....	Ormon

*District Delegates*

1—C. H. Taylor.....	Wauchula
Wallace Tervin .....	Bradenton
2—A. Z. Adkins.....	Starke
Fred P. Cone.....	Lake City
3—Fuller Warren .....	Marianna
Joe W. Williams.....	Chipley
4—H. E. Sala.....	Coral Gables
Gilchrist B. Stockton.....	Jacksonville

*District Alternates*

Reid Robson .....	Lakeland
H. P. Perry .....	Bradenton
John R. Willis.....	Bronson
W. B. Cone .....	Maccleeny
A. I. Miller .....	Chipley
Parkhill Mays .....	Monticello
Fred T. Noone .....	Jacksonville
Charles M. Durrancy .....	Jacksonville

## GEORGIA

*Delegates-at-Large*

William J. Harris.....	Cedartown
Clifford M. Walker.....	Atlanta
Thomas J. Hamilton.....	Augusta
Andrew C. Erwin.....	Athens

*Alternates-at-Large*

**DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION**

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*Delegates-at-Large*

William J. Vereen.....	Moultrie
G. E. Maddox.....	Rome
Mrs. Mary Harris Armour.....	Eastman
Miss Emily Woodward.....	Vienna

*Alternates-at-Large*

<i>District Delegates</i>	
1—A. B. Lovett.....	Savannah
T. J. Evans.....	Sylvania
2—H. H. Wind.....	Cairo
Henry T. McIntosh.....	Albany
3—U. V. Whipple.....	Cordele
Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith.....	Ashburn
4—N. F. Culpepper.....	Greenville
W. E. Page.....	Columbus
5—Arthur Lucas.....	Atlanta
R. S. Elrod.....	Atlanta
6—J. J. Flynt.....	Griffin
Claude Hutcheson.....	Jonesboro
7—Newt A. Morris.....	Marietta
C. C. Bunn.....	Cedartown
8—Zack W. Copeland.....	Elberton
C. E. Martin.....	Athens
9—Victor Allen.....	Buford
Marvin Bell.....	Gainesville
10—John R. Lewis.....	Louisville
J. B. Burnside.....	Thomson
11—W. C. King.....	Kingsland
Mrs. A. P. Brantley.....	Blackshear
12—Sam A. Nunn.....	Perry
Guy O. Stone.....	Glenwood

*District Alternates*

Bruce Dubberly .....	Glenville
Mrs. Frank S. Burney .....	Waynesboro
Ernest Davis .....	Camilla
Mrs. C. K. Sharp .....	Arlington
Chas. R. Crisp .....	Americus
Dr. J. G. Dean .....	Dawson
Mrs. Lee Hand .....	Senoia
C. E. Roop .....	Carrollton
Mrs. Marvin Williams .....	Atlanta
John W. Weeks .....	Decatur
W. H. Key .....	Monticello
Mrs. O. W. Kinney .....	Macon
Ralph Rosser .....	Lafayette
Mrs. J. C. Mitchell .....	Dalton
W. W. Armistead .....	Crawford
Mrs. Frank Dennis .....	Eatonton
O. A. Nix .....	Lawrenceville
Mrs. Jeff Davis .....	Toccoa
Mrs. H. M. Franklin .....	Tennille
Paul A. Bowden .....	Thomson
Frank Scarlett .....	Brunswick
John R. Slater .....	Douglas
T. J. Smith .....	McRae
Mrs. Kate Oliver .....	Eastman

**IDAHO**

*Delegates-at-Large*

James H. Hawley.....	Boise
Moses Alexander .....	Boise
Robert Elder .....	Coeur d'Alene
Beecher Hitchcock .....	Priest River
W. Orr Chapman .....	Twin Falls
Ramsey Walker .....	Wallace
L. E. Dillingham .....	Mackay
George H. Fisher .....	Bancroft
F. E. DeKay .....	Blackfoot
J. S. Keel .....	Twin Falls
Mrs. Kate C. DeKay .....	Blackfoot
J. F. Jenny .....	Cottonwood
C. B. Wilson .....	Alexander
R. J. Hardig .....	Malad
J. R. Powell .....	Bonner's Ferry
J. P. Pope .....	Boise

*Alternates-at-Large*

<i>District Delegates</i>	
1—C. C. Hargrove .....	Weiser
Mrs. R. M. Walker .....	Wallace
Robert Coulter .....	Cascade
Compton I. White .....	Clark's Fork
2—A. Ploeger .....	Burley
C. F. Howe .....	Ketchum
Mrs. W. Orr Chapman .....	
	Twin Falls
Mrs. Harriet S. Wilson .....	Twin Falls

*District Alternates*

**ILLINOIS**

*Delegates-at-Large*

Geo. E. Brennan.....	Chicago
	3150 Sheridan Rd.
William E. Dever .....	Chicago
	5901 Kenmore Ave.
James Hamilton Lewis .....	Chicago
	112 W. Adams St.

*Alternates-at-Large*

M. Ph. Ginsberg .....	Chicago
	1214 S. Halsted St.
George Huthmacher .....	Murphysboro
John Toman .....	Chicago
	4056 W. Twenty-first Pl.

*Delegates-at-Large*

Melvin A. Traylor.....	Chicago
426 Barry Ave.	
Robert M. Sweitzer.....	Chicago
3522 W. Jackson Blvd.	
Martin J. O'Brien.....	Chicago
3951 Congress St.	
Henry Horner .....	Chicago
1226 Madison Park	
Edward N. Hurley.....	Chicago
3400 Sheridan Rd.	
Mary McInerny .....	Chicago
6340 Emerald Ave.	
Bruce A. Campbell.....	East St. Louis
Lewis G. Stevenson....	Bloomington
Frank J. Quinn.....	Peoria
Norman L. Jones.....	Carrollton
George A. Cooke.....	Chicago
442 Wellington Ave.	
Richard F. Kinsella.....	Springfield
Sarah Bond Hanley.....	Monmouth

*Alternates-at-Large*

Oscar F. Mayer.....	Chicago
5727 Sheridan Rd.	
Peter H. Schwaba.....	Chicago
3609 N. Avers Ave.	
Jacob M. Loeb.....	Chicago
4860 Kimbark Ave.	
Buel Brake.....	Mount Sterling
Sara Johns English....	Jacksonville
Mary E. Barnes.....	Arcola
James M. Allen.....	Decatur
Mrs. Mildred B. Dorsey....	Quincy
John S. Clark.....	Chicago
215 S. Cicero Ave.	
Asa Greathouse .....	Paris
Daniel H. Gregg.....	Wenona
Theodore W. David.....	Chicago
2860 Eastwood Ave.	
Elizabeth A. Conkey.....	Chicago
7420 Yates Ave.	

*District Delegates*

1—Michael Kenna .....	Chicago
804 S. Michigan Ave.	
William J. Graham.....	Chicago
640 Woodland Park	
2—Michael L. Igoe.....	Chicago
5434 Cornell Ave.	
William Rothmann .....	Chicago
6148 Woodlawn Ave.	
3—John J. Sullivan.....	Chicago
1118 W. Garfield Blvd.	
Emmett Whealan .....	Chicago
1847 W. Garfield Blvd.	
4—A. J. Cermak.....	Chicago
2348 S. Millard Ave.	
Joseph B. McDonough..	Chicago
551 W. Thirty-seventh St.	
5—Adolph J. Sabath.....	Chicago
2006 S. Ashland Ave.	
John F. Quinlan.....	Chicago
2131 S. Halsted St.	
6—James T. Igoe.....	Chicago
112 S. Menard Ave.	
Michael Rosenberg .....	Chicago
1823 Independence Blvd.	
7—Harry Kohl .....	Chicago
1823 N. Lowell Ave.	
Arthur S. Beaudette....	Chicago
3800 Monticello Ave.	
8—Stanley H. Kunz.....	Chicago
1916 Potomac Ave.	
Leo Kocialkowski .....	Chicago
1368 Ingraham St.	
9—Harry M. Fisher.....	Chicago
528 Belmont Ave.	
Francis X. Busch.....	Chicago
548 Arlington Pl.	
10—John D. Hayes.....	Chicago
6441 Lakewood Ave.	
Henry A. Zender.....	Chicago
5444 N. Robey St.	
11—Edward J. O'Beirne.....	Elgin
Frank J. Wise.....	Joliet
110 Pleasant St.	
12—Ralph H. Desper.....	Oglesby
John D. Waterman...	Rockford
734 N. Church St.	

*District Alternates*

Eugene J. Holland.....	Chicago
3120 Lowe Ave.	
Henry R. Houle.....	Chicago
640 Woodland Park	
William S. Newburger....	Chicago
6841 Jeffrey Ave.	
Frank A. Wright.....	Chicago
1517 E. Sixty-seventh Pl.	
Peter J. Brady.....	Chicago
7847 Carpenter St.	
Walter T. Stanton.....	Chicago
705 W. Garfield Blvd.	
Thos. A. Doyle.....	Chicago
3537 Lowe Ave.	
Louis Solar .....	Chicago
2345 S. Millard Ave.	
Joseph Mendel .....	Chicago
1443 S. Ashland Ave.	
John H. Luczak.....	Chicago
3028 W. Twenty-second St.	
Ross C. Hall.....	Oak Park
309 S. Scoville Ave.	
Anton Maciejewski .....	Cicero
5028 W. Thirty-first Pl.	
Manuel Wolf .....	Chicago
2203 Rice St.	
Phil T. Weyna.....	Chicago
5343 Leland Ave.	
Stanley Adamkiewicz .....	Chicago
1029 Milwaukee Ave.	
John J. Touhy.....	Chicago
218 S. Seeley Ave.	
Mrs. Barbara Werdell.....	Chicago
1426 Mohawk St.	
Mrs. Margaret Donar.....	Chicago
3418 Elaine Pl.	
D. A. Moses.....	Chicago
928 Windsor Ave.	
Joseph H. Donahue.....	Chicago
3642 N. Seeley Ave.	
Charles L. Schwartz.....	Naperville
John R. McCabe.....	Harvard
Roscoe S. Chapman.....	Rockford
Robert E. Larkin.....	Streator

## DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

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*District Delegates*

- 13—John P. Devine.....Dixon  
Frank T. Sheean.....Galena  
102½ N. Main St.  
14—James H. Spiker.....Bushnell  
732 N. Jackson St.  
William R. Moore.....Moline  
1115 Fifteenth St.  
15—S. A. Hubbard.....Quincy  
W. Emery Lancaster  
16—Warren E. Van Dusen.....Chillicothe  
C. N. Hollorich.....Spring Valley  
200 E. Dakota St.  
17—Peter Murphy .....Lincoln  
213 Keokuk St.  
John A. Moore.....Bloomington  
Evers Bldg.  
18—E. R. E. Kimbrough....Danville  
403 Vermilion St.  
Frank M. Crangle.....Watseka  
19—George B. Marvel.....Clinton  
Samuel A. Hughart.....Mattoon  
400 N. Twenty-first St.  
20—Wm. N. Hairgrove.....Jacksonville  
8 Morrison Block  
Allen T. Lucas.....Chandlerville  
21—James H. Murphy.....Viridian  
A. L. Hereford.....Springfield  
22—William A. Moody.....East St. Louis  
Signall Hill  
Charles Boeschenstein.....Edwardsville  
23—Blaine Huffman.....Lawrenceville  
1022 S. Twelfth St.  
J. G. Burnside.....Vandalia  
24—Richard F. Taylor.....Elizabethtown  
James O'Neal .....Fairfield  
308 Center St.  
25—George B. Walker.....Cairo  
1815 Commercial Ave.  
W. Joe Hill.....Benton  
401 First Natl. Bank Bldg.

*District Alternates*

- William Zugsworth .....Polo  
William Hogan .....Lanark  
Chas. H. Finch  
Ira J. O'Hara  
J. D. Breckenridge.....Lewistown  
Wm. A. Defrick.....Abingdon  
Mary E. Beaver.....Peoria  
C. L. Conder.....Pekin  
John C. Corbett.....Chatsworth  
H. V. Graybill.....Secor  
James E. Meeks.....Danville  
Dorothy L. Kay.....Watseka  
W. L. Kelley.....Shelbyville  
Carl N. Weilepp  
A. C. Tozer.....Petersburg  
E. A. Brennan.....Jacksonville  
James Hardie .....Carlinville  
Richard F. Kinsella.....Springfield  
Harry E. Jackson.....Waterloo  
Emerson E. Schnepp.....Greenville  
Jos. B. Crowley, Jr.....Robinson  
David L. Wright.....Effingham  
W. E. McGuire.....Cottonwood  
John H. Stelle.....McLeansboro  
Dan Talbott.....Ava  
R. F. D.  
W. H. Warder.....Marion

## INDIANA

*Delegates-at-Large*

- Thomas Taggart.....French Lick  
Wm. H. O'Brien.....Lawrenceburg  
Wm. F. Cronin.....Terre Haute  
L. G. Ellingham.....Ft. Wayne  
Dale Crittenberger.....Anderson  
Mrs. Samuel M. Raiston.....Indianapolis  
Mrs. John W. Kern.....Indianapolis  
1836 N. Pennsylvania St.  
Mrs. Thos. Marshall....Indianapolis

*Alternates-at-Large*

- Eugene B. Crowe.....Bedford  
C. C. Bittler.....Newcastle  
Miss Emma May.....Terre Haute  
Mrs. John Hitch.....Princeton  
Mrs. Mary Arnold.....Peru  
A. C. Sallee.....Indianapolis  
521 Chamber of Commerce  
Walter Myers .....Indianapolis  
807 J. F. Wild Bldg.  
Mrs. Hazel Luckey.....Wolf Lake

*District Delegates*

- 1—Chas. Garrison .....Boonville  
Gilbert Bosse .....Evansville  
2—Peter Schloot .....Linton  
Mrs. James R. Riggs...Sullivan  
3—George Wagner .....Jasper  
Thomas D. Taggart.French Lick  
4—John F. Russell....Greensburg  
Jos. M. Cravens.....Madison  
5—James P. Hughes....Greencastle  
R. A. Wernecke...Terre Haute  
6—J. Hampton Reeves....Rushville

*District Alternates*

- Ralph R. Roberts.....Rockport  
Herb Leffel.....Mount Vernon  
John McCarty .....Washington  
Ed Kerlin .....Sullivan  
Charles Tighe.....New Albany  
A. R. Blythe.....Bedford  
c/o E. B. Crowe  
B. E. Megushar.....North Vernon  
Frank McConahey .....Franklin  
Jas. D. Carpenter.....Brazil  
Floyd Allen .....Carbon  
Quincy Elliott .....Connersville

*District Delegates*

Oliver Steele .....	Spiceland
7—Chas. Remster .....	Indianapolis 3530 Washington Blvd.
Wm. J. Mooney .....	Indianapolis 1210 N. Pennsylvania St.
8—John Heller .....	Decatur
James Fleming .....	Portland
9—Ed Mason .....	Crawfordsville
H. C. Uhlen .....	Lebanon
10—Wm. W. McMahon .....	Hammond
Hume L. Sammons .....	Kentland
11—Lowell E. Neff .....	Logansport
Chas. Wright .....	North Manchester
12—James T. Farley .....	Auburn
John W. Eggeman .....	Fort Wayne
13—Fred Hennock .....	Laporte
Jos. Scheninger .....	South Bend

*District Alternates*

J. H. McFarland .....	Hagerstown
Mrs. Wm. H. Coleman .....	Indianapolis 1006 N. Meridian St.
Miss Faye Terrell .....	Indianapolis 410 S. Emerson Ave.
Lon Bracken .....	Muncie
Mrs. Geo. Reed .....	Bluffton
Kenneth Meara .....	Noblesville
Harry D. Coons .....	Crawfordsville
Frank R. Martin .....	Hammond
Pat Kennedy .....	Oxford
Otto H. Krieg .....	Huntington
Frank Ireland .....	Laketon
Jos. R. Harrison .....	Columbia City
Paul Dunten .....	Lagrange
Jos. A. Harrison .....	Columbia City
Roy Denniston .....	Rochester

## IOWA

*Delegates-at-Large*

M. F. Healy .....	Fort Dodge
Wilbur W. Marsh .....	Waterloo
Daniel F. Steck .....	Ottumwa
Peter N. Jacobsen .....	Davenport
Mrs. Nora Goheen .....	Calmar
James M. Parsons .....	Des Moines
R. V. Louden .....	Fairfield
D. E. McGuire .....	Dubuque

*District Delegates*

1—Ed C. Webber .....	Fort Madison
Tom Greene .....	Burlington
2—Tom Walsh .....	Davenport
H. J. Murphy .....	Marengo
3—P. J. Nelson .....	Dubuque
John T. Sullivan .....	Waterloo
Fred Hageman .....	Waverly
4—Frank Howard .....	Elma
Fred Bierman .....	Decorah
5—H. M. Cooper .....	Marshalltown
C. J. Cash .....	Anamosa
6—Mrs. W. L. Etter .....	Keokuk
C. Ver Ploeg .....	Oskaloosa
James J. Smith .....	Ottumwa
George Godfrey .....	Albia
7—A. T. Vanderwaal .....	Pella
Frank Miles .....	Des Moines
George Dugan .....	Perry
Mrs. Edna Danforth .....	Winterset
8—Miss Nina Falk .....	Essex
J. E. Doze .....	Humeston
Mrs. D. P. Long .....	Hamburg
T. V. Killion .....	Centerville
9—Russell E. Swift .....	Harlan
A. M. Fagen .....	Guthrie Center
John P. Tinley .....	Council Bluffs
M. P. Conway .....	Atlantic
10—Richard J. Mitchell .....	Fort Dodge
Douglas Rogers .....	Manning
11—George Finch .....	Sioux City
T. E. Diamond .....	Sheldon

*Alternates-at-Large*

Dr. C. M. Van Ausdall .....	New London
Mrs. Madge O'Neill .....	Columbus Junction
J. F. Devitt .....	Muscatine
J. S. Watson .....	Iowa City
T. E. Dolan .....	Greene
Mrs. A. S. MacMurray .....	Oelwein
E. F. Medary .....	Waukon
C. E. Walters .....	Toledo
T. J. Davis .....	Marion

## KANSAS

*Delegates-at-Large*

Mrs. George H. Hodges .....	Olathe
Mrs. Mary F. Carney .....	Leavenworth
Mrs. Frank Britton .....	Topeka
Mrs. Harry L. Hubbard .....	Dodge City
Donald Muir .....	Harper

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Fred Robertson .....	
Mrs. Balie Waggener .....	
Mrs. Ed F. Parker .....	Paola
Miss Eva Foree .....	
Thurman Hill .....	Independence

*Delegates-at-Large*

Edgar C. Bennett.....Marysville  
John R. Connelly.....Colby  
George McGill .....Wichita

*District Delegates*

1—Chas. Herold .....Seneca  
Chas. Miller .....Tonganoxie  
2—James DeCoursey.....Kansas City  
Frank M. Sheridan .....Paola  
3—W. F. O'Brien.....St. Paul  
Earl M. Knight....Arkansas City  
Ed Nelson .....Longton  
Dr. H. L. Gees.....Mulberry  
4—Walter Austin..Cottonwood Falls  
Dr. R. H. Miles.....Lyndon  
5—H. C. Tobey.....Salina  
Mike Fry.....Junction City  
6—J. S. Bird.....Hays  
Dan Hopson .....Phillipsburg  
7—Forrest Luther .....Cimarron  
Paul A. Jones.....Lyons  
8—Harry Harris .....Burton  
Amos Belsley .....Wellington

*Alternates-at-Large*

William M. Price.....Emporia  
O. T. Wood.....Liberal  
Chas. Stevens .....Columbia

*District Alternates*

W. P. Waggener.....Atchison  
Miss Margaret Ford.....Oskaloosa  
E. Y. Parker.....Garnett  
Mrs. Ada B. McCracken.....Ottawa

Robert Souder .....Madison  
G. R. Evans.....Lebo  
Henry Collins .....Belleville  
Walter Moore .....Manhattan  
Bert Kessling .....Atwood  
J. F. Hale.....Mankato  
Ed Hawes .....Larned  
T. N. Thorp.....Lakin  
Dr. M. R. Oleson.....Marquette  
A. H. Murphy.....Eldorado

## KENTUCKY

*Delegates-at-Large*

Alben W. Barkley.....Paducah  
Jas. Breathitt, Jr.....Hopkinsville  
A. O. Stanley.....Henderson  
Geo. B. Martin.....Cafleetburg  
Desh Breckinridge .....Lexington  
Mrs. H. K. Bourne.....New Castle  
Mrs. D. L. Moore.....Harrodsburg  
Mrs. J. Campbell Cantrill.Frankfort

*District Delegates*

1—W. F. Bradshaw.....Paducah  
Heber Finch .....Fulton  
2—Josh T. Griffith.....Owensboro  
Dr. F. H. Bassett.....Hopkinsville  
James R. Rash.....Madisonville  
F. M. Humphries....Hawesville  
3—R. C. P. Thomas.Bowling Green  
E. C. Evans .....Franklin  
4—Jno. Polin .....Springfield  
Albert Mulhall .....Leitchfield  
5—James Garnett .....Louisville  
Mrs. Robert Hagan.....Louisville  
6—Jno. T. Murphy.....Covington  
Jacob Roll .....Newport  
7—J. Wirt Turner.....New Castle  
Hafford E. Hay.....Irvine  
8—Kelly Francis .....Stanford  
Dr. J. L. Furnish.....Taylorsville  
9—Dr. J. Watts Stovall.....Grayson  
Floyd Arnett.....West Liberty  
10—Dr. W. J. Smith.....Pikesville  
Astor Hogg .....Whitesburg  
11—R. R. Dalton.....Monticello  
W. E. Riley.....Harlan  
J. N. Hatcher.....Corbin  
Virgil P. Smith.....Somerset

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Hugh Cooper .....Lebanon  
Mrs. W. G. Talbott.....Paris  
Mrs. Keene Arnold .....Versailles  
Col. A. D. Martin.....Frankfort  
Jos. S. Laurent .....Louisville  
Clell Coleman .....Harrodsburg  
A. H. Eckles.....Hopkinsville  
Howard Stephens ....Independence

*District Alternates*

H. C. Burnett.....Princeton  
Noble Harris .....Mayfield

Bruce Young .....Greenville  
Mrs. Joe Goodwin.....Glasgow  
Judge Will Baskett....Brandenburg  
Will Broady .....Hartford  
Mrs. Jno. L. Woodbury...Louisville  
Wallace McKay .....Louisville  
Joseph A. Cassidy .....Newport  
Robert B. Brown .....Warsaw  
Mrs. Ora Martin.....Georgetown  
C. W. Sale.....Beattyville  
S. M. Saufley .....Richmond  
Mrs. Stanley Johnson.Lawrenceburg  
Dr. J. L. Richardson.....Ashland  
Chambers Perry .....Mt. Olivet  
T. J. Arnett.....Saylersville  
A. A. Brandenburg.....Booneville  
Will Webb .....Tompkinsville  
Mrs. M. E. Fish.....Williamsburg

## LOUISIANA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Huey P. Long.....Shreveport  
Edwin S. Broussard....New Iberia  
Jos. E. Ransdall...Lake Providence  
Robert Ewing.....New Orleans

*Alternates-at-Large*

H. G. Fields.....Farmerville  
T. Arthur Edwards.....Lake Charles  
W. H. Sullivan.....Bogalusa  
A. J. Alford.....Amite

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*General Congressional Delegates*

John P. Sullivan.....	New Orleans Balter Bldg.	Jules Moustier.....	New Orleans 824 Burgundy St.
Robert S. Maestri.....	New Orleans Maritime Bldg.	Paul B. Habans.....	New Orleans City Hall
Paul H. Maloney.....	New Orleans 721 St. Charles St.	John J. O'Neill.....	New Orleans 1211 Coliseum St.
Fred H. Macom.....	Clarks	Edward A. Haggerty..	New Orleans 1419 Constance St.
Dr. Thos. H. Stark.....	Thibodaux	I. W. Gajan.....	New Iberia
James A. Peterman.....	Franklin	Dr. R. A. Comeaux.....	Abbeville
W. Burch Lee.....	Shreveport	Dr. L. E. Sanderson....	Shreveport
John C. Davey.....	New Orleans Maritime Bldg.	S. P. Assenheimer.....	New Orleans 321 Hillary St.
P. M. Atkins.....	Monroe	A. E. Kell.....	Tallulah
Jeff B. Snyder.....	Tallulah	Mrs. E. T. Lampkin.....	Monroe

*District Delegates*

6—Eugene Cazedessus.....Baton Rouge
Louis L. Morgan.....Covington
7—Dudley L. Guilbeau....Opelousas
V. Clifford Vaughn.....Kinder
8—S. R. Lee.....Alexandria
Gaston L. Porterie....Marksville

*District Alternates*

Charles E. Schwing.....Plaquemine
Eugene B. Watson.....Amite
Jos. Hardy.....Ville Platte
Roy E. Deaton.....Lake Charles
Albert L. Smith.....Winnfield
Miss Marie Breazeale...Natchitoches

## MAINE

*Delegates-at-Large*

D. J. McGillicuddy.....Lewiston
Mrs. Leon G. C. Brown.....Milo
Thomas L. Cleaves....Old Orchard
Dan W. Cony.....Augusta

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Mabel Chaney.....Lisbon
Elmer J. Prince.....Sangerville
Dr. John M. Connellan....Portland
Mrs. Mary D. Cony.....Augusta

*District Delegates*

1—Paul C. Thurston.....Bethel
Lore H. Ford.....Whitefield
2—James G. O'Connor.....Bangor
Patrick J. Byrnes.....Bangor
3—William M. Ingraham...Portland
John West ..... Wells
4—Daniel E. Hurley.....Ellsworth
Harry Bellevue ....Waterville

*District Alternates*

Joseph Torrey .....	Bath
Annie Whalen .....	Rockland
Mrs. James O'Connor.....	Bangor
Mrs. Julia E. Byrnes.....	Bangor
Fred P. Callan.....	Portland
John Savage .....	Portland
Timothy C. Murphy.....	Hallowell
Newland L. Hannaford....Winthrop	

## MARYLAND

*Delegates-at-Large*

Albert C. Ritchie.....Annapolis
Millard E. Tydings.Havre de Grace
Howard Bruce .....
Elkridge
J. Enos Ray.....Chillum
Thomas H. Robinson.....Belair
Howard W. Jackson.Baltimore City
3 Talbot Rd.
Omer F. Hershey....Baltimore City
Citizens Natl. Bk. Bldg.
Mrs. B. Ashby Leavell..Chevy Chase

*Alternates-at-Large**District Delegates from Baltimore City*

Daniel J. Loden.....Baltimore City
4909 Edmondson Ave.
Joseph L. Ranft....Baltimore City
Western Police Sta.
Robert B. Ennis.....Baltimore City
1501 Fidelity Bldg.
John H. Bouse.....Baltimore City
317 S. Ann St.
Robert H. Carr.....Baltimore City
Equitable Bldg.
Ambrose J. Kennedy.Baltimore City
1212 Ensor St.
William Curran.....Baltimore City
Calvert Bldg.

*District Alternates from Baltimore City*

P. Ross Bundick.....Baltimore City
409 N. Holliday St.
Daniel C. Joseph.....Baltimore City
1513 Eutaw Place
William J. Ogden....Baltimore City
Union Trust Bldg.
Samuel L. Hanneman.Baltimore City
Patrick O'Malley....Baltimore City
713 E. Twenty-second St.
George J. Mueller....Baltimore City
412 W. Lexington St.
Vincent J. Demarco.Baltimore City
215 St. Paul St.



Underwood & Underwood

**CHARLES A. GREATHOUSE**  
Secretary of the Democratic National Committee



*District Delegates from Baltimore City*

John E. Potee.....Baltimore City Sheriff's Office, Court House  
 Gilbert A. Dailey....Baltimore City City Hall  
 John T. Tormullan..Baltimore City Southwestern Police Station

*District Alternates from Baltimore City*

Clarence W. Miles....Baltimore City Munsey Bidg.  
 Mrs. Ethel Lorentz..Baltimore City Tudor Hall Apts.  
 Mrs. Lucille Pacy....Baltimore City  
 Mrs. Joseph O'Donnell.....  
 .....Baltimore City  
 416 E. Randall St.  
 Mrs. Albin Owings..Baltimore City

*District Delegates from Counties*

1—Dudley G. Roe.....Sudlersville  
 Henry P. Turner.....Easton  
 William S. Gordy, Jr..Salisbury  
 J. Ben Decker.....Elkton  
 2—Carville D. Benson..Halethorpe  
 David G. McIntosh, Jr...Towson  
 E. O. Weant.....Westminster  
 5—Frank S. Revell.....Annapolis  
 Walter J. Mitchell....LaPlata  
 M. Hampton Magruder.....Upper Marlboro  
 6—William C. Walsh...Cumberland  
 William P. Lane, Jr..Hagerstown  
 Benjamin C. Perry....Bethesda  
 E. Brooke Lee....Silver Springs

*District Alternates from Counties*

William W. McCabe.....Ocean City  
 T. Clayton Horsey.....Denton

Frank S. Given.....Glyndon  
 Stuart S. Janney.....Garrison

Mrs. G. Abram Moss.....Annapolis  
 John B. Gray, Jr...Prince Frederick

William R. Browning.....Oakland  
 Mrs. Andrew A. Annan..Emmitsburg  
 Harry E. Bester.....Hagerstown  
 Joseph B. Finan.....Cumberland  
 Robert E. King.....Cumberland  
 Howard Marvin Jones..Brunswick

## MASSACHUSETTS

*Delegates-at-Large*

David I. Walsh.....Fitchburg  
 .....37 Day St.  
 James M. Curley.....Boston  
 .....350 Jamaicaway  
 Andrew J. Peters.....Boston  
 .....310 South St.  
 Charles H. Cole.....Boston  
 .....34 Gloucester St.  
 Joseph B. Ely.....Westfield  
 .....66 Broad St.  
 Helen A. MacDonald.....Boston  
 .....1 New Heath St.  
 William J. Foley.....Boston  
 .....388 W. Fourth St  
 Edward J. Kelley.....Worcester  
 .....14 Gage St

*Alternates-at-Large*

Charles H. McGuire.....Cambridge  
 .....850 Massachusetts Ave.  
 Strabo V. Claggett.....Newton  
 .....1820 Washington St.  
 Joseph Santosuoso .....Boston  
 .....37 Brattle St.  
 Bernard M. Wolf.....Boston  
 .....271 Dartmouth St.  
 Elizabeth C. McInerney....Boston  
 .....28 St. Albans Rd.  
 Dorothy Whipple Fry....Brookline  
 .....447 Warren St.  
 James A. Donovan.....Lawrence  
 .....16 Summit Ave.  
 Raymond V. McNamara...Haverhill  
 .....88 Fountain St.

*District Delegates*

1—Jeremiah M. Linnehan.Pittsfield  
 .....306 West St.  
 James F. Cleary, Jr....Holyoke  
 .....1049 Dwight St.  
 Patrick Bresnahan, Jr..Holyoke  
 .....107 Sargent St.  
 Eugene A. Lynch....Holyoke  
 .....204 Pleasant St.  
 2—William J. Granfield.....  
 .....Longmeadow  
 .....47 Ellington St.  
 Joseph E. Kerigan...Springfield  
 .....105 Ingersoll Grove  
 Robert W. King....Springfield  
 .....107 Mulberry St.  
 John D. O'Connor.....Chicopee  
 .....386 Grove St.  
 3—Francis E. Cassidy....Webster  
 .....44 Elm St.  
 Roland D. Sawyer.....Ware  
 District 9

*District Alternates*

Frank M. Lucey.....Holyoke  
 .....13 Pearl St.  
 Mary E. Driscoll.....Holyoke  
 .....698 Dwight St.  
 Daniel T. Griffin.....Holyoke  
 .....72 Mosher St.  
 Edward F. Prendiville....Holyoke  
 .....127 Chestnut St.  
 John B. McCormick.....Springfield  
 .....152 Carew St.  
 Paul P. Ezekiel.....Longmeadow  
 .....25 Highland St.  
 Christopher J. Reardon.....  
 .....West Springfield  
 .....122 Garden St.  
 Walter Kenifick .....Springfield  
 .....17 Ainsworth St.

*District Delegates*

Valmore P. Tetreault.....	Southbridge 112 Hartwell St.
Mae Cassidy .....	Webster 44 Elm St.
4—George D. Morse.....	Worcester 59 Stafford St.
Frank W. McCooey..	Blackstone 14 Main St.
Nellie Millea .....	Worcester 206 West St.
John F. Delaney.....	Worcester 22 Maywood St.
5—Cornelius Desmond, Jr., Lowell	235 Stackpole St.
John J. Gilbride.....	Lowell 14 Porter St.
Cornelius F. Cronin.....	Lowell 344 Varnum Ave.
Katherine F. McCarthy.	Lowell 647 Market St.
6—John J. McCarthy.....	Salem 47 Summit Ave.
Lot F. McNamara, Jr., Haverhill	4 Highland Ave.
Denis J. Sullivan.....	Salem 25 Forrester St.
Edward B. O'Brien..	Marblehead 24 Waldron St.
7—John J. Daley.....	Lawrence 13 Lowell Terrace
John A. Jones.....	Peabody 23 Winter St.
Michael J. Dougherty.....	Lynn 19 Jewett Court
Michael A. Sullivan..	Lawrence 97 Knox St.
8—Thomas H. Duffy.....	Woburn 265 Main St.
Edward W. Quinn....	Cambridge 105 Fresh Pond Parkway
Terrell M. Ragan....	Cambridge 50 Kirtland St.
Timothy D. Sullivan,Cambridge	390 Broadway
9—Melvin B. Breath.....	Chelsea 66 Reynolds Ave.
James E. Hagan.....	Somerville 351 Washington St.
Mary E. McGoldrick..	Somerville 30 Walnut St.
Francis X. Tyrrell.....	Chelsea 28 Parker St.
10—John I. Fitzgerald.....	Boston 7 Allen St.
Thomas H. Green.....	Boston 117 Baldwin St.
Michael J. Brophy.....	Boston 257 Webster St.
John J. Curley.....	Boston 52 Winthrop St.
11—Timothy J. Driscoll.....	Boston 826 Huntington Ave.
Michael J. Ward.....	Boston 20A Auburn St.
Maurice J. Tobin.....	Boston 818 Parker St.
Henry E. Lawler.....	Boston 11 Elliot St.
12—William H. McDonnell...Boston	12 Ticknor St.

*District Alternates*

Bryan J. Moore.....	Worcester 91 Green St.
John S. Derham.....	Uxbridge 112 N. Main St.
Elizabeth A. Flanagan....	Worcester 361 Shrewsbury St.
Leo A. J. Charbonneau.....	Worcester 64 Coolidge Road
James V. Hennessy.....	Concord 170 Commonwealth Ave.
Sarah G. Sparks.....	Lowell 59 Elm St.
Patrick J. Meehan.....	Lowell 48 Highland St.
John J. O'Connor.....	Lowell 161 Salem St.
William H. Quinn.....	Salem 10½ Hawthorne Blvd.
James Kinsella .....	Salem 47 Linden St.
Henry A. Sullivan.....	Salem 52 School St.
Dennis F. Foley.....	Salem 72 Grove St.
Thomas H. Donahue.....	Lynn 29 Rock Ave.
Victor E. Principe.....	Lynn 305 Chatham St.
Julla Feeney .....	Lynn 17 Henry Ave.
James Degnan .....	Lawrence 61 Cambridge St.
Hyman Pill .....	Cambridge 333A Harvard St.
Whitfield L. Tuck.....	Winchester 2 Winthrop St.
Michael J. Mahoney....	Cambridge 296 Columbia St.
Luke A. Manning.....	Arlington 139 Trent St.
Charles R. Brunelle.....	Somerville 66 Grant St.
Oliver F. Green.....	Winthrop 111 Highland Ave.
Felix A. Marcella.....	Boston 149 Endicott St.
Eugene S. Mehegan.....	Boston 37 Essex St.
Agnes G. Towle.....	Boston 57 Hancock St.
Edward F. Field.....	Cambridge 84 Thorndike St.
Stephen R. Mealey.....	Boston 944 Parker St.
John J. Kelleher.....	Boston 33 Arklow St.
James Goode .....	Boston 54 S. Huntington Ave.
Elizabeth M. Needham.....	Boston 1 Penryth St.
Francis X. Coyne.....	Boston 58 Barry St.

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*District Delegates*

Francis X. Sheehan.....Boston	46 Tremlett St.
James J. Twohig.....Boston	76 W. Fifth St.
William S. McNary.....Boston	30 Cushing Ave.
13—Daniel H. Coakley.....Boston	52 Parsons St.
Francis J. O'Gorman.....Boston	39 Cushman Rd.
Richard H. Long.....Framingham	Winter St.
Charles J. O'Malley.....Boston	2500 Beacon St.
14—George F. Aherne.....Abington	243 Birch St.
Elizabeth Gormley.....Brockton	8 E. Ashland St.
Arthur A. Hendrick.....Brockton	20 Waverly St.
Edward J. Megley.....Holbrook	65 Pleasant St.
15—Miles J. Neff.....Fall River	230 Second St.
John J. Smith.....Fall River	466 S. Beach St.
Joseph L. Hurley.....Fall River	50 Cottage St.
Dominick F. Corrigan.....Fall River	653 Broadway
16—John H. Backus, Jr.....	New Bedford
	71 Bonney St.
Joseph C. Desmond.....	New Bedford
	117 Hillman St.
Willard E. Boyden.....Sandwich	
Bertha V. Gatenby.....New Bedford	44 Bourne St.

*District Alternates*

Garrett H. Byrne.....Boston	27 Blue Hill Ave.
William G. Lynch.....Boston	670 Columbia Rd.
John J. Beatty.....	Boston
	9 B St.
John E. O'Hearn.....	Brookline
	191 Davis Ave.
Delia M. Cauley.....	Boston
	47 Winship Rd.
Mary E. A. Murray.....	Milford
	19 Grant St.
Fergus J. Hickey.....	Brookline
	92 Browne St.
John J. Hickey.....	Brockton
	152 N. Warren Ave.
John J. Gallagher.....	Milton
	588 Adams St.
Thomas H. Buckley.....	Abington
	198 Centre Ave.
John H. Moran.....	Weymouth
	306 Middle St.
Charles McCloskey.....	Fall River
	172 Lonsdale St.
John Ford.....	Fall River
	70 Hamby St.
Edmund P. Talbot.....	Fall River
	110 Rockland St.
Maud Tweedie.....North Attleborough	Elm St.
George A. Blake.....	New Bedford
	96 N. Second St.
Charles L. Booth.....	New Bedford
	129 Durfee St.
Arthur Buckley.....	New Bedford
	465 Union St.
Arthur Goulart.....	New Bedford
	191 Washington St.

**MICHIGAN**

*Delegates-at-Large*

Wm. A. Comstock.....Detroit	642 Beaubien St.
Horatio J. Abbott.....Ann Arbor	
Wm. F. Connolly.....Detroit	1225 Majestic Bldg.
M. Thomas Ward.....Grand Rapids	
Mrs. Thos. J. Cavanaugh.....Paw Paw	
Mrs. Walter H. Jobe.....Detroit	8245 Bingham Ave.
Miss Jessie Porter.....Marshall	
Miss Katherine Doran.....Detroit	7460 LaSalle Blvd.

*Alternates-at-Large*

Frank L. Dodge.....Lansing	809 Prudden Bldg.
C. H. Benedict.....Lake Linden	
Patrick H. O'Brien.....Detroit	2210 Park Ave.
Michael J. Doyle.....Menominee	
Mrs. Linnie T. Hyatt.....Detroit	2906 E. Jefferson Ave.
Mrs. Julia L. Haller....Mt. Clemens	
Mrs. Claude O. Taylor.....Grand Rapids	
Mrs. Grace Mary Weadock.....Saginaw	

*District Delegates*

1—Frank Murphy .....	Detroit
	2170 E. Jefferson Ave.
Wm. M. Donnelly.....	Detroit
	1702 Ford Bldg.
2—John C. Cahalan, Sr. ....	Wyandotte
Burt F. Schumacher.....Ann Arbor	
3—John W. Bailey.....	Battle Creek
R. L. Sowers.....	Charlotte
4—Edw. Hackman.....	Burr Oak
Henry Heimann .....	Niles
5—David E. Uhl.....	Grand Rapids
	217 Madison St.

*District Alternates*

Thos. B. Moore.....	Detroit
	2170 E. Jefferson Ave.
Dr. Frank Kilroy.....	Detroit
	Receiving Hospital
Henry R. Byrnes.....	Adrian
Elmer Kirkby .....	Jackson
Wm. L. Fitzgerald.....	Kalamazoo
E. R. Gamble.....	Coldwater
Robert Cavanaugh.....	Paw Paw
Joseph F. Hayden.....	Cassopolis
Wm. R. McCaslin.....	Grand Rapids
	1580 Mackinaw Dr.

*District Delegates*

Richard L. Newnham.....	Grand Rapids
	831 Wealthy St.
6—Edmund C. Shields.....	Lansing
Roscoe B. Huston.....	Detroit
15 E. Kirby Ave.	
7—James Reid.....	Port Huron
Varnum J. Bowers.....	Mt. Clemens
8—Geo. W. Weadock.....	Saginaw
Miss Sara O. Brodebock.....	Alma
9—John A. McLaughlin.....	Muskegon
James L. Smith.....	Muskegon
10—Geo. D. Jackson.....	Bay City
H. A. Chamberlain.....	Standish
11—Robt. H. Rayburn.....	Alpena
James McKenna.....	Sault Ste. Marie
12—Jas. F. Corcoran.....	Crystal Falls
Joseph M. Donnelly.....	Ontonagon
13—Patrick H. Keating.....	Detroit
3917 W. Lafayette Blvd.	
Frank D. Eaman.....	Detroit
2075 W. Grand Blvd.	

*District Alternates*

Wm. O. Van Eyck.....	Holland
Willis M. Brewer.....	Pontiac
Walter W. Knapp.....	Howell
Frank W. Merrick.....	Pigeon
Patrick Kane.....	Port Huron
John H. Brondle.....	Owosso
Mrs. Edith Carmichael.....	Saginaw
M. B. Danaher.....	Ludington
Mrs. Rose Poirier.....	Muskegon
	291 Houston Ave.
Mrs. F. W. Braman.....	Bay City
Frank I. Wixon.....	Sanford
Wm. L. McManus, Jr.....	Petoskey
John K. Stack, Jr.....	Escanaba
John Cuddihy.....	Houghton
O. K. Fjetland.....	Iron River
Thos. F. Halloran.....	Detroit
	140 Atkinson Ave.
Richard I. Lawson.....	Detroit
	1318 Putnam Ave.

## MINNESOTA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Adolph Brewer.....	St. Paul
John Ryan.....	Minneapolis
Joseph Wolf.....	Staples
Thomas Cashman.....	Owatonna
Mrs. Wm. Duffy.....	Shakopee
Mrs. Jane Humbird Burr.....	St. Paul
Mrs. R. C. Bell.....	Detroit Lakes
Mrs. Edward L. McNulty.....	
	Minneapolis

*District Delegates*

1—Wm. Fitzgerald.....	Rochester
J. R. Foley.....	Wabasha
2—Edward Noonan.....	Madelia
Jacob Ohlsen.....	Luverne
3—Herman F. Lueders.....	Norwood
Charles C. Kolars.....	
	Le Sueur Center
4—Harry Weiss.....	St. Paul
Wm. J. Quinn.....	St. Paul
5—Neil M. Cronin.....	Minneapolis
H. A. Thexton.....	Minneapolis
6—W. F. Donahue.....	St. Cloud
H. P. Dunn.....	Brainerd
7—Wm. Perrizo.....	Clontarf
Mrs. Thos. H. King.....	Willmar
8—Andrew Nelson.....	Duluth
Henry Hughes.....	Grand Rapids
9—C. U. Landrum.....	Detroit Lakes
Hugh Dunlevy.....	E. Grand Forks
10—E. J. Sweeney.....	Minneapolis
Viggo Justesen.....	Aeskov

*Alternates-at-Large*

Walter F. Dacey.....	Duluth
J. J. Farrell.....	Carver
Pierce Butler, Jr.....	St. Paul
Mrs. Oce Curtis.....	Minneapolis
Mrs. P. J. Gleason.....	Minneapolis
Mrs. J. B. Atkinson.....	Minneapolis
Mrs. Anna Dickey Oleson.....	Northfield
Mrs. John R. Serrin.....	Glenwood

*District Alternates*

Robert E. Looby.....	Winona
Ray Moonan.....	Waseca
Mrs. Laura Connell.....	Luverne
D. D. Murphy.....	Blue Earth
Mrs. Margaret Casey.....	Farmington
Mrs. Bertha Hermann.....	Le Sueur

M. F. Kincaid.....	St. Paul
Henry McColl.....	St. Paul
Mrs. Ruth H. Carpenter.....	Minneapolis
J. A. Richards.....	Minneapolis
J. B. Galarneau.....	Aitkin
P. J. Russell.....	Bemidji
Mrs. J. R. Serrin.....	Glenwood
J. L. Paul.....	Browns Valley
Hugh McEvon.....	Hibbing
Mrs. Chas. McGregor.....	Duluth
M. J. Reilly.....	Detroit Lakes
John Lamb.....	Moorhead
Z. L. Begin.....	Minneapolis
John W. Schmidt.....	Anoka

## MISSISSIPPI

*Delegates-at-Large*

Theo. G. Bilbo.....	Jackson
Pat Harrison.....	Gulfport
Hubert Stephens.....	New Albany
Thomas L. Bailey.....	Meridian

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Sadie Still .....	Clarksdale
Mrs. Ellen Woodward .....	Jackson
Mrs. Bidwell Adam .....	Pass Christian
Miss Daisy Rogers .....	New Albany

*District Delegates*

1—Geo. H. Hill.....	Tupelo
M. A. Parks.....	Brooksville
Dr. J. H. Stone.....	Tremont

*District Alternates*

J. G. Wilkins.....	Brooksville
M. M. Miller.....	Tupelo
F. G. Thomas.....	Tupelo

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*District Delegates*

Thos. Fite Paine.....	Aberdeen
2—Phil Stone .....	Oxford
Joe Clay Davis.....	Hernando
Richard Denman .....	Charleston
A. C. Anderson.....	Ripley
3—Lake Roberson .....	Clarksdale
W. T. Wynn.....	Greenville
4—E. G. Whitehead.....	Winona
J. R. McLarty.....	Water Valley
5—J. O. Eastland.....	Morton
T. Q. Brame.....	Bay Springs
W. L. Clayton.....	Meridian
R. H. Molpus.....	Philadelphia
6—F. C. Hathorn.....	Hattiesburg
A. B. Schauber.....	Laurel
7—L. T. Kennedy.....	Natchez
Hugh V. Wall.....	Brookhaven
X. A. Kramer.....	McComb
Robert Lewis .....	Woodville
8—Homer H. Casteel.....	Canton
Robert H. Powell.....	Canton
J. J. McGraw.....	Vaughn
Pat Henry .....	Vicksburg

*District Alternates*

Dr. F. M. Vaughn.....	Columbus
R. F. D.	
Dr. S. E. Eason.....	New Albany
W. D. Belk.....	Holly Springs
Milton Thompson .....	Hernando
H. L. Whitten .....	Ashland
C. C. Moody.....	Indianola
W. T. Covington.....	Belen
G. M. Lawrence.....	Grenada
H. T. Leonard .....	Kosciusko
H. F. Case .....	Quitman
Homer Lee .....	Louisville
(Only two alternates)	

E. L. Dent.....	Collins
Geo. R. Smith.....	Pass Christian
M. C. McGehee .....	Meadville
Dr. C. W. Stewart.....	Osyka
R. F. D.	
J. M. Alford.....	Tylerstown
C. L. Davis.....	Fayette
J. H. Culkin .....	Vicksburg
Mrs. D. C. McCool.....	Canton
Mrs. T. S. Ward.....	Canton
Mrs. E. R. Holmes.....	Yazoo City

MISSOURI

*Delegates-at-Large*

Charles M. Howell.....	Kansas City
Bennett C. Clark .....	St. Louis
Edward J. White.....	St. Louis
A. W. Nelson .....	Boonville
Mrs. R. J. Curdy.....	Kansas City
Mrs. F. D. Gardner.....	St. Louis
Mrs. G. A. Richart.....	Blackburn
Mrs. Thelma R. Campbell.Kirksville	

*District Delegates*

1—Mrs. A. E. Platter.....	Memphis
C. C. Hayward.....	Shelbyina
Henry Reidel .....	Hannibal
Mrs. J. S. Tall.....	Kahoka
M. A. Romjue.....	Macon
2—Al B. Munsey .....	Trenton
S. J. Jones.....	Carrollton
C. R. Noel.....	Paris
John H. Taylor.....	Chillicothe
Ralph F. Lozier.....	Carrollton
3—James C. Simrall.....	Liberty
Claude L. Enyart.....	Stanberry
Jacob L. Milligan.....	Richmond
4—John J. Downey.....	St. Joseph
R. B. Bridgeman.....	Oregon
Frederick D. Gardner.....	St. Louis
5—T. J. Pendleton.....	Kansas City
J. B. Shannon.....	Kansas City

*Alternates-at-Large*

*District Alternates*

Mrs. R. L. Hamilton.....	Richmond
Ben A. Yates.....	Pattensburg

Mrs. W. B. Wood.....	Rosendale
Mrs. F. W. Holienbrink .....	St. Joseph

Mrs. Ralph Swofford .....	Kansas City
Mrs. R. E. Montgomery .....	Kansas City

Miss Mabel Edwards.....	Greenfield
Miss Mary Chambers.....	Appleton City
Mrs. H. B. Connell .....	Osceola
Mrs. W. S. Martin .....	Eldorado Springs

Harve L. Terry .....	Sedalia
William B. Nivert .....	Glasgow

*District Delegates*

William L. Nelson.....Columbia
9—Ed A. Glenn.....Louisiana
Mrs. Alice Moss Ferris.....Laddonia
Clarence A. Cannon.....Elsberry
10—Charles A. Lemp.....St. Louis
L. J. Gualdoni.....St. Louis
Samuel W. Fordyce.....St. Louis
11—William J. Brennan.....St. Louis
John Keegan.....St. Louis
John J. Cochran.....St. Louis
12—Michael Kinney.....St. Louis
Daniel G. Taylor.....St. Louis
Harry B. Hawes.....St. Louis
13—William L. Townsend.....Festus
Charles H. Richeson.....Potosi
Mrs. Cora Coffield.....Farmington
Miss Lucille Hood.....Perryville
Clyde Williams.....Hillsboro
14—Harry Alexander.....Cape Girardeau
R. S. Hogan.....West Plains
James F. Fulbright.....Doniphan
15—W. M. Bowker.....Nevada
A. W. Thurman.....Joplin
W. A. Chandler.....Seneca
Mrs. Janie McDonald Brown.....Mt. Vernon
Katherine Halterman.....St. Louis
16—B. H. Rucker.....Rolla
Phil M. Donnelly.....Lebanon
Mrs. Leona B. Hiett.....Houston
Mrs. Blanche Lewis.....Mountain Grove
Thomas L. Rubey.....Lebanon

*District Alternates*

Miss Tess Neff.....St. Charles
Mrs. Cora H. Peters.....St. Clair

Joseph Kane .....	St. Louis
M. G. Roberts.....	St. Louis

Joseph H. Brogan.....St. Louis
John F. Byrne.....St. Louis

Ralph Coale .....	St. Louis
David Israel .....	St. Louis

Mrs. Etta M. Robertson.....Ozark	
Mrs. Lee Shelton .....	Kennett

## MONTANA

*Delegates*

Thomas J. Walsh.....Helena
J. Bruce Kremer.....Butte
Mrs. W. W. Hamilton.....Dodson
J. E. Lane.....Lewistown
H. B. Mitchell.....Great Falls
Sid Willis.....Great Falls
Mrs. R. C. Battey.....Billings
T. J. Walker.....Butte
Arthur Babbitt.....Livingston
R. R. Purcell.....Helena
W. H. Maloney.....Butte
Thomas McGrath.....Anaconda
C. C. Hurley.....Glendive
Dr. H. B. Cloud.....Medicine Lake
F. R. Van de Putte.....Great Falls
Dr. C. D. Powell.....Valier

*Alternates*

Dr. T. J. Shanley.....Butte	
Dr. F. M. Poindexter.....Dillon	
Lewis Penwell .....	Helena
Ed Feehan .....	Glasgow
Stanley Sceare .....	Ronan
Carl J. Traurerman .....	Butte
Mrs. Henrietta Bessette .....	Butte
D. J. Burke.....Lewistown	
J. J. Jewell.....Stanford	
Mrs. Will Cave .....	Missoula
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill .....	Helena
Thomas Fox .....	Butte
W. W. McCormick .....	Missoula
C. C. Guinn.....Hardin	
H. L. Maury.....Butte	
Guy C. Derrey.....Billings	

## NEBRASKA

*Delegates-at-Large*

James C. Dahlman.....Omaha
Evelyn A. Ryan.....Grand Island
J. J. Thomas.....Seward
Frank J. Taylor.....St. Paul

*Alternates-at-Large*

Olga Stastny .....	Omaha
Odessa Carter Jensen.....	Blair

*District Delegates*

1—Carrie M. Clark.....Stella	
C. A. Lord.....Lincoln	
2—Otto J. Bauman.....Omaha	
Eugene D. O'Sullivan.....Omaha	
3—Otto F. Walter.....Columbus	
Douglas Cones .....	Pierce
4—J. P. Baldwin.....Hebron	
Earl Marvin .....	Beatrice
5—Effie M. Byers.....Hastings	

*District Alternates*

Florence Warren Rice.....Nebraska City	
Katherine C. Allison.....Ft. Calhoun	
Estelle Boyle .....	Omaha

Ben H. Saunders.....Norfolk
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Nellie G. Benson.....Silver Creek
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Irene Letson .....	Wilsonville
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*District Delegates*

William Bartlett .....	Alma
6—W. T. Thompson, Jr.....	Cozad
George O'Malley .....	Greeley

*District Alternates*

Alice Brooke .....	Hastings
A. D. Cameron.....	Kearney
James Quigley .....	Valentine

## NEVADA

*Delegates*

William Woodburn .....	Reno
Key Pittman .....	Tonopah
Mrs. E. K. Smith.....	Lovelock
Joseph Fayant .....	Golconda
Charles B. Henderson.....	Elko
William Malloy .....	Austin
A. C. Powell.....	Ely
E. S. Shepard.....	Las Vegas
J. Clarence Kind.....	Tonopah
C. C. Ward.....	Hawthorne
H. R. Cooks.....	Reno
George Parker .....	Yerington

*Alternates*

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Delegates-at-Large*

John T. O'Dowd.....	Manchester
Allie J. Connor.....	Manchester
Mary J. Connor.....	Manchester
James F. Brennan.....	Peterboro
Alfred J. Seymour.....	Carroll
Arthur J. Rutledge.....	Portsmouth
Henri T. Ledoux.....	Nashua
Eaton D. Sargent.....	Nashua

*Alternates-at-Large*

Agnes Collins Dunn.....	Concord
Margaret C. Martin.....	Concord
George E. Farrand.....	Concord
F. Clyde Keefe.....	Dover
John T. Hurley.....	Manchester
Ovide J. Coulombe.....	Berlin
Irving A. Hinckley.....	Lancaster
Ruth Ralph .....	Franklin

*District Delegates*

1—James J. Powers.....	Manchester
Clement A. Roy.....	Somersworth
2—Daniel J. Hagerty.....	Nashua
Robert E. Could.....	Newport

*District Alternates*

Annie T. O'Dowd.....	Manchester
Michael J. O'Malley .....	Somersworth
Willis H. Flint .....	Concord
Edson W. Bailey .....	Sunapee

## NEW JERSEY

*Delegates-at-Large*

Edward I. Edwards.....	Jersey City
A. Harry Moore.....	Jersey City
Harry Heher .....	Trenton
Paul J. Moore.....	Newark
Mary T. Norton .....	Jersey City

*Alternates-at-Large*

Percy H. Stewart.....	Plainfield
Charles V. Duffy.....	Paterson
William C. Cannon.....	Montclair
Frank Dorsey.....	Perth Amboy
Rebecca Estell Winston .....	Estell Manor

*District Delegates*

1—Samuel M. Shay.....	Merchantville
Henry Burt Ware.....	Salem
2—William B. Vandegrift.....	Burlington
Charles I. Lafferty .....	Atlantic City
3—John J. Quinn.....	Red Bank
James F. Mitchell .....	New Brunswick
4—Daniel A. Dugan.....	Trenton
Harvey J. Moynihan .....	Bound Brook
5—Albert H. Holland .....	Morristown
Alfred A. Stein.....	Elizabeth
6—George Van Buskirk .....	Hackensack
Sylvester C. Smith, Jr.....	Phillipsburg
7—Raymond J. Newman .....	Paterson
Nicholas F. Kearney .....	Paterson
8—Samuel I. Kessler .....	Newark
John Prout.....	Jersey City

*District Alternates*

Donald A. Swackhamer.....	Woodbury
Marie V. Kelley .....	Camden
Fredrick Metz .....	Wildwood
Florence W. Jacoby .....	Riverton
William A. Ryan .....	Woodbridge
James Mercer Davis .....	Toms River
Walter M. Carson .....	Trenton
Marion C. MacRobert .....	Trenton
Francis V. Dobbins .....	Rahway
Edward Nugent .....	Elizabeth
Cora R. Vaughan .....	Newton
Levi H. Morris .....	Newton
Margaret Delaney .....	Clifton
Denis A. G. Lyons .....	Passaic
Mary A. Cronin .....	Newark
John M. Gibson .....	Harrison

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*District Delegates*

9—William L. Fox.....	Newark
Daniel F. Minahan.....	Orange
10—John A. Matthews.....	Newark
George V. McDonough.....	
	West Orange
11—Oscar L. Aufderheide.....	West New York
Gustav Bach .....	Hoboken
12—Arthur Potterton.....	Jersey City
John F. Boyle.....	Jersey City

*District Alternates*

Rosemary Carroll .....	Newark
Helen V. Phillips.....	East Orange
Kate B. Kanter.....	Newark
William R. Roebling.....	Newark
Michael J. Curry.....	Jersey City
Daniel Herrmann .....	Guttenberg
Lillian B. Moore.....	Jersey City
Peter J. O'Reilly.....	Jersey City

## NEW MEXICO

*Delegates*

Sam G. Bratton.....	Albuquerque
John Morrow .....	Raton
Grace Massie .....	Roswell
David Chavez, Jr.....	Santa Fe
Clyde Tingley .....	Albuquerque
Mrs. V. H. Montgomery.....	Estancia
Milnor Rudolph .....	Mora
Caswell Neal .....	Carlsbad
Sam W. Agee.....	Silver City
George E. Cook.....	Socorro
Juan N. Vigil.....	Taos
Felipe Sanchez y Baca .....	Tucumcari

*Alternates*

Soledad C. Chacon.....	Albuquerque
Jake Floersheim .....	Roy
Jennie M. Kirby.....	Santa Fe
Byron O. Beall.....	Santa Fe
Bonifacio Montoya .....	Bernalillo
H. T. Herring .....	Chamberino
Benigno Padilla.....	Puerto de Luna
Mrs. Georgia Lusk.....	Lovington
Mrs. A. J. Greene.....	Deming
Ramon Baca y Chavez .....	Belen
Robert W. Isaacs.....	Clayton
John H. Barry .....	Clovis

## NEW YORK

*Delegates-at-Large*

John W. Davis.....	New York City
	1107 Fifth Ave.
James J. Walker.....	New York City
	6 St. Luke's Place
Franklin D. Roosevelt.....	
	New York City
	Hyde Park
Norman E. Mack.....	Buffalo
	1100 Delaware Ave.
Elisabeth Marbury.....	New York City
	13 Sutton Place
Caroline O'Day .....	Rye
Alice Campbell Good.....	Brooklyn
	880 St. Mark's Place
Elinor F. Morgenthau.....	
	Hopewell Junction

*Alternates-at-Large*

Robert F. Wagner.....	New York City
	Glenmont
William H. Kelley.....	Syracuse
	1709 S. Salina St.
Fred G. Lemmerman.....	Brooklyn
	280 Vanderbilt Ave.
Donald Dailey .....	Rochester
	399 Barrington St.
Dorothy A. Julig.....	Richmond Hill
	104-64 115th St.
Christine Allen .....	Kenwood
	Madison County
Mary S. Kernan.....	Utica
	324 Genesee St.
Angela Delagi .....	Bronx
	2233 Southern Blvd.

*District Delegates*

1—Philip N. Krug.....	Mineola
James A. Early.....	Sag Harbor
2—Mason O. Smedley.....	Malba
	Malba Dr.
Bernard M. Patten.....	
	Long Island City
	276 Elm St.
3—John J. Curtin.....	Brooklyn
	379 Clinton Ave.
Arthur S. Somers.....	Brooklyn
	988 Sterling Pl.
4—Thomas H. Cullen.....	Brooklyn
	215 Congress St.
William J. Hefferman..	Brooklyn
	554 Sixtieth St.
5—Raymond V. Ingersoll.	Brooklyn
	380 Clinton Ave.
James P. Judge.....	Brooklyn
	326 Lincoln Pl.
6—John H. McCooey.....	Brooklyn
	908 St. Mark's Ave.

*District Alternates*

Thomas J. Cuff.....	Hempstead
Catherine T. McSweeney.....	Flushing
	33 Juniper St.
Frederic S. Marsell.	Rockaway Beach
	305 Beach Ninety-eighth St.
Albert C. Benninger.....	Ridgewood
	2220 Putnam Ave.
Evelyn Ward Rehm.....	Brooklyn
	256 Ten Eyck St.
David Senft .....	Brooklyn
	42 Bartlett St.
Frank J. Taylor.....	Brooklyn
	383 Clinton St.
Louis Goldstein .....	Brooklyn
	50 Plaza St.
John R. McDonald.....	Brooklyn
	305 E. Fifth St.
Mary A. Parker.....	Brooklyn
	584 Park Pl.
Minnie J. Abel.....	Brooklyn
	408a Hancock St.



JAMES W. GERARD  
Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee



*District Delegates*

	John J. Fitzgerald.....	Brooklyn
		881 Ocean Ave.
7—	Thomas J. Drennan.....	Brooklyn
		140 Hewes St.
	James J. Browne.....	Brooklyn
		97 Johnson St.
8—	Thomas F. Wogan.....	Brooklyn
		450 Ovington Ave.
	Jennie McMahon .....	Brooklyn
		Hightland Ave., Sea Gate
9—	William F. Delaney.....	Brooklyn
		1110 Bushwick Ave.
	Frank A. Crowe.....	Brooklyn
		39 Jerome St.
10—	James J. Sexton.....	Brooklyn
		257 Stuyvesant Ave.
	Hyman Schorenstein.....	Brooklyn
		131 Bristol St.
11—	John F. Gilchrist.....	Manhattan
		17 Oliver St.
	Charles W. Berry.....	
		Dongan Hills, S. I.
		Roemer Rd.
12—	Edward J. Ahearn.....	Manhattan
		296 E. Broadway
	George Gordon Battle.....	
		Manhattan
		850 Park Ave.
13—	Joseph Johnson.....	Manhattan
		60 W. Fifty-eighth St.
	Christopher D. Sullivan.....	
		Manhattan
		179 Forsyth St.
14—	George W. Olvany.....	Manhattan
		43 Fifth Ave.
	Joab H. Banton.....	Manhattan
		35 Fifth Ave.
15—	John F. Curry.....	Manhattan
		131 W. Sixty-first St.
	William F. Kenney.....	Manhattan
		820 Fifth Ave.
16—	Kenneth O'Brien.....	Manhattan
		1 E. Eighty-sixth St.
	Arthur J. Baldwin.....	Manhattan
		35 Fifth Ave.
17—	Herbert H. Lehman.....	Manhattan
		820 Park Ave.
	Rosalie S. Phillips.....	Manhattan
		23 W. Seventy-third St.
18—	John F. Carew.....	Manhattan
		319 E. Sixty-eighth St.
	James W. Gerard.....	Manhattan
		761 Fifth Ave.
19—	Norman Davis.....	Manhattan
		59 W. Seventy-ninth St.
	Annie Mathews .....	Manhattan
		130 W. 123d St.
20—	Nathan Burkan .....	Manhattan
		1130 Fifth Ave.
	Anthony Paladino .....	Manhattan
		226 E. 115th St.
21—	Claude G. Bowers.....	Manhattan
		524 Riverside Dr.
	Irene D. Gibson.....	Manhattan
		127 E. Seventy-third St.
22—	James J. Hoey.....	Manhattan
		135 Central Park
	Edward J. Flynn.....	Bronx
23—	Ralph Jervis Walker.....	Bronx
		Sheridan Ave. and 165th St.

*District Alternates*

	Mary F. O'Malley.....	Brooklyn
		287 E. Eighteenth St.
	Michael Lara .....	Brooklyn
		205 Union St.
	Albert Conway .....	Brooklyn
		845 Carroll St.
	John J. Dorman.....	Brooklyn
		1410 E. Twenty-second St.
	Lillian M. Murphy.....	Brooklyn
		1472 E. Fourteenth St.
	Louise Eschmann .....	Brooklyn
		274 Arlington Ave.
	Mary C. Hendrickson.....	Richmond Hill
		102 Ninetieth Ave.
	Rae Rudich .....	Brooklyn
		767 Greene Ave.
	Agnes Riley .....	Brooklyn
		102 Rockaway Ave.
	James J. Riordan.....	Manhattan
		21 W. Twelfth St.
	Anning S. Prall.....	Westerleigh
		160 College Ave.
	Henry M. Goldfogle.....	Manhattan
		294 E. Broadway
	Peter J. Brady.....	Manhattan
		136 E. Thirty-sixth St.
	George W. Loft.....	Manhattan
		400 Broome St.
	Alice M. Proskauer.....	Manhattan
		205 W. Fifty-seventh St.
	David H. Knott.....	Manhattan
		43 Fifth Ave.
	James F. Egan.....	Manhattan
		27 Washington Sq. N.
	Howard S. Cullman.....	Manhattan
		208 E. Sixty-second St.
	Hannah V. Imhof.....	Manhattan
		526 W. 111th St.
	Michael J. Cruise.....	Manhattan
		137 E. Thirtieth St.
	Martin G. McCue.....	Manhattan
		734 Third Ave.
	Richard C. Patterson, Jr.....	
		Manhattan
		1060 Park Ave.
	George R. Van Namee.....	Manhattan
		612 Fifth Ave.
	Anna Naughton .....	Manhattan
		245 E. Eighty-sixth St.
	James A. Beha.....	Manhattan
		315 W. Ninety-eighth St.
	Francis C. Caffey.....	Manhattan
		44 W. Forty-fourth St.
	Gertrude E. R. Elkus.....	Manhattan
		2 E. Fifty-fifth St.
	Rose M. Reese.....	Manhattan
		417 W. 120th St.
	Philip Berolzheimer.....	Manhattan
		125 W. Seventy-ninth St.
	Moses J. Sneudairai.....	Manhattan
		601 W. 137th St.
	Joseph M. Hartfield.....	Manhattan
		2350 Broadway
	Daniel L. Ryan.....	Manhattan
		382 Wadsworth Ave.
	Edward L. Corbett.....	Bronx
		336 Alexander Ave.
	James A. Hamilton.....	Bronx
		2090 Washington Ave.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*District Delegates*

- Harry M. Durning.....Bronx  
972 Woodycrest Ave.  
24—Maurice Muller .....Bronx  
2515 Grand Concourse  
Thomas F. Larkin.....Yonkers  
81 Post St.  
25—Humphrey J. Lynch.....White Plains  
James A. Farley....Haverstraw  
26—Daniel J. Dwyer....Port Jervis  
19 Lyman St.  
Henry Morgenthau, Jr.....  
.....Hopewell Junction  
27—Merton L. Goldrick.....  
.....Goldrick's Landing  
George B. Van Valkenburgh.....Lexington  
28—John Boyd Thacher.....Albany  
830 Myrtle Ave.  
Charles L. Kohler.....  
.....New York City  
29—David J. Fitzgerald, Jr.....  
.....Glens Falls  
79 Glen St.  
Winfield A. Huppuch.....  
.....Hudson Falls  
Main St.  
30—George R. Lunn....Schenectady  
19 Stratford Rd.  
Josiah H. Danforth.....  
.....Gloversville  
80 Kingsborough Ave.  
31—Thomas F. Conway.....  
.....Plattsburgh  
63 Broad St.  
Walter F. Wilson....Louisville  
32—Otto Pfaff .....Oneida  
Delos M. Cosgrove....Watertown  
143 Winthrop St.  
33—M. William Bray.....Utica  
1611 Holland Ave.  
T. Harvey Ferris.....Utica  
1607 Sunset Ave.  
34—Edward F. King....Cooperstown  
David F. Lee.....Binghamton  
113 Chestnut St.  
35—T. Frank Dolan.....Syracuse  
637 W. Onondaga St.  
David F. Costello.....Syracuse  
735 Sumner Ave.  
36—Lithgow Osborne .....Auburn  
John P. Sheehan.Clifton Springs  
37—Edwin S. Underhill.....Bath  
John W. Gurnett..Watkins Glen  
38—Harlan W. Rippey....Rochester  
165 Linden St.  
Meyer Jacobstein ...Rochester  
399 Barrington St.  
39—William C. Page.....Mumford  
Bernard Ryan .....Albion  
40—Edward E. Coatsworth..Buffalo  
438 Main St.  
William Laughlin, Sr.....  
.....Niagara Falls  
River Road  
41—Howard Bissell .....Buffalo  
83 Hodge Ave.  
John C. Stiglmeier.....Sloan  
362 Wagner Ave.  
42—John C. O'Leary.....Buffalo  
297 N. Division St.

*District Alternates*

- John M. Haffen.....Bronx  
900 Grand Concourse  
Albert Cohn .....Bronx  
744 Beck St.  
Jesse S. Cooper.....Mt. Vernon  
169 Brookside Ave.  
Mrs. William A. Belknap.Oscawana  
Mrs. Joseph A. Ball.....Rye  
Margaret Mack .....Arlington  
Aileen Osborn Webb....Cold Spring  
James M. Kelly.....Monticello  
John Connor .....Philmont  
James J. O'Connor..New York City  
Royal H. Weller....New York City  
Cecelia D. Patten..Saratoga Springs  
192 Grand Ave.  
Mary E. McInerney....Mechanicville  
145 S. Third St.  
Raymond T. Madden...Schenectady  
349 Hulett St.  
Robert W. Austin.....Amsterdam  
144 Guy Park Ave.  
Ruth E. Perrin .....Potsdam  
74 Elm St.  
Mary I. O'Donnell....Elizabethtown  
Charles E. Norris.....Carthage  
Sherman M. Burns.....Oswego  
41 E. Bridge St.  
Johnson D. McMahon.....Rome  
214 W. Thomas St.  
Harvey Feldmeter.....Little Falls  
Gansevoort St.  
Arthur E. Connor.....Walton  
Jesse Jacobs .....Oxford  
C. Leonard O'Connor.....Truxton  
Alexis N. Muench.....Syracuse  
835 E. Willow St.  
John F. O'Brien.....Wolcott  
Daniel Lynch .....Geneva  
John Reamer .....Ithaca  
Rena Rockwell .....Elmira  
Joseph Adams .....Rochester  
90 Belmont St.  
Anna Brewster Wells ....Rochester  
145 Pinnacle Rd.  
James E. Malley.....Rochester  
507 Chili Ave.  
Richard White.....Mt. Morris  
Mrs. George Pfohl.....Buffalo  
507 Porter Ave.  
John M. Powers....Niagara Falls  
650 Fourth St.  
Joseph J. Tronolone.....Buffalo  
364 Niagara St.  
John Schueler .....Buffalo  
466 Sycamore St.  
William J. O'Brian.....Buffalo  
94 Seminole Pkwy.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

59

*District Delegates*

- Anthony Walkowiak .... Buffalo  
 1016 Humboldt Pkwy.  
 43—Michael O'Laughlin .... Dunkirk  
 George H. Ansley .... Salamanca

*District Alternates*

- Mrs. Dorothy Hartney ..... Buffalo  
 34 Cazenovia St.  
 Elloy R. Ganey ..... Jamestown  
 Mattie C. Dellone ..... Bolivar

**NORTH CAROLINA**

*Delegates-at-Large*

- F. M. Simmons ..... New Bern  
 Josephus Daniels ..... Raleigh  
 Word H. Wood ..... Charlotte  
 Wm. C. Newland ..... Lenoir  
 Mrs. Palmer Jerman ..... Raleigh  
 Mrs. W. H. Belk ..... Charlotte  
 Miss May F. Jones ..... Asheville  
 Mrs. J. G. Fearing ..... Elizabeth City

*Alternates-at-Large*

- Wade H. Harris ..... Charlotte  
 Frank H. Stedman ..... Fayetteville  
 Santford Martin ..... Winston-Salem  
 R. C. Dunn ..... Scotland Neck  
 James A. Hartness ..... Statesville  
 Mrs. Frank Bennett ..... Rockingham  
 Mrs. Benjamin F. Long ..... Statesville  
 Mrs. E. D. Broadhurst ..... Greensboro

*District Delegates*

- 1—W. O. Saunders ..... Elizabeth City  
 E. G. Flanagan ..... Greenville  
 J. Roy Parker ..... Ahoskie  
 J. W. Holmes ..... Farmville  
 2—D. M. Costelloe ..... Windsor  
 Ernest Deans ..... Wilson  
 J. Waldo Whitaker ..... Enfield  
 F. B. Shelton ..... Speed  
 3—T. D. Warren ..... New Bern  
 B. C. Fiske ..... Kenansville  
 Chas. S. Wallace ..... Morehead City  
 B. C. Humphrey ..... Goldsboro  
 4—R. S. McCoin ..... Henderson  
 J. O. W. Gravely ..... Rocky Mount  
 F. H. Brooks ..... Smithfield  
 J. R. Weatherspoon ..... Raleigh  
 5—James G. Haynes ..... Winston-Salem  
 R. O. Everett ..... Durham  
 6—W. S. Britt ..... Lumberton  
 J. A. Brown ..... Whiteville  
 H. H. Clarke ..... Elizabethtown  
 John C. Thompson ..... Lillington  
 7—L. D. Robinson ..... Wadesboro  
 U. L. Spence ..... Carthage  
 J. C. M. Vann ..... Monroe  
 S. W. Finch ..... Thomasville  
 8—R. L. Smith, Jr. ..... Albemarle  
 Geo. W. Allen ..... Concord  
 Walter H. Woodson ..... Salisbury  
 L. T. Hartsell ..... Concord  
 9—J. A. Bell ..... Charlotte  
 Sam C. Lattimore ..... Shelby  
 10—J. Q. Gilkey ..... Marion  
 C. N. Malone ..... Asheville

*District Alternates*

- M. J. Wrenn ..... Greensboro  
 J. B. Pipkin ..... Reidsville  
 Miss Beatrice Cobb ..... Morganton  
 C. W. Tillett ..... Charlotte  
 W. R. Francis ..... Waynesville  
 T. H. Shipman ..... Brevard

**NORTH DAKOTA**

*Delegates*

*Alternates*

- F. F. Burchard ..... Grand Forks  
 James E. Campbell ..... Mandan  
 John Ehr ..... Minot  
 R. L. Hawes ..... Wahpeton  
 P. W. Lanier ..... Jamestown  
 John F. Lish ..... Dickinson  
 Wesley McDowell ..... Marion  
 J. L. Page ..... Bottineau  
 W. H. Porter ..... Calvin  
 John Van Arnam ..... Kindred

OHIO

*Delegates-at-Large*

*Alternates-at-Large*

- J. Henry Goede ..... Lima  
 M. R. Denver ..... Wilmington  
 Vincent Beckman ..... Cincinnati  
 Kevin O'Dwyer ..... Toledo

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*Delegates-at-Large*

Thos. L. Duffy.....Columbus  
 Wm. W. Durbin.....Kenton  
 Robert T. Scott.....Cambridge  
 Claude Meeker .....Columbus  
 Mrs. Josephine M. McCowan.Canton

Mrs. Bernice S. Pyke.....Cleveland

*District Delegates*

1—W. A. Julian.....Cincinnati  
 Simeon M. Johnson..Cincinnati  
 2—Chas. J. Bocklet.....Cincinnati  
 Thos. J. Connor.....Cincinnati  
 3—Joel O. Shoup.....Dayton  
 Warren Gard .....Hamilton  
 4—John F. Maher.....Greenville  
 Lafe W. Kunning ..Wapakoneta  
 5—Timothy T. Ansberry..Defiance  
 B. H. Recker.....Ottawa  
 6—Harry E. Taylor.....Portsmouth  
 W. J. Sproul.....West Union  
 7—D. C. Houser.....Urbana  
 Elias Oglesbee ..Waynesville  
 8—Wm. E. Martin.Upper Sandusky  
 Dr. Carl Watson.....Findlay  
 9—Chas. Graves.....Port Clinton  
 Ed J. Lynch.....Toledo  
 10—J. E. Halliday.....Gallipolis  
 John H. Newvahner.....Jackson  
 11—M. A. Daugherty.....Lancaster  
 James M. Borror.....Asheville  
 12—Ralph J. Bartlett.....Columbus  
 Nathan A. McCoy, Sr.Columbus  
 13—Wm. H. Reinhart.....Sandusky  
 Dr. W. E. Martin..Monroeville  
 14—Cornelius Mulcahy .....Akron  
 David Ladd Rockwell.Ravenna  
 15—Edward B. Follett.....Marietta  
 A. R. McCulloch.....Cambridge  
 16—J. A. Anderson.....Millersburg  
 Burrell Russell.....New Philadelphia  
 .....New Philadelphia  
 17—Herbert J. Murphy.....Newark  
 Henry G. Brunner.....Mansfield  
 18—John F. Nolan.....Steubenville  
 A. M. Brown.....St. Clairsville  
 19—Dennis F. Dunlavy...Ashtabula  
 John J. Farrell.....Youngstown  
 20—Jos. C. Breitenstein..Cleveland  
 Chas. A. Mooney .....Cleveland  
 21—John F. Curry.....Cleveland  
 Frank J. Merrick.....Cleveland  
 22—Newton D. Baker.....Cleveland  
 W. B. Gongwer.....Cleveland

*Alternates-at-Large*

John Wood .....Georgetown  
 J. Spriggs McMahon.....Dayton  
 James R. Marker.....Versailles  
 Edw. S. Wert.....Wooster  
 Mrs. Eleanor Bailey Johnson..Zanesville  
 Miss Marie E. McCurry....Columbus

*District Alternates*

John W. Patterson.....Cincinnati  
 Catherine M. Carter.....Norwood  
 Frank Schwab.....St. Bernard  
 Jos. A. Clark.....Cincinnati  
 Gustav A. Hodapp.....Dayton  
 Geo. H. Sebald.....Middletown  
 Henry Kampf .....Piqua  
 Howard Amos .....Sidney  
 Bert Beuler .....Bryan  
 Hugh E. Allen .....Van Wert  
 Allen Nichols .....Batavia  
 J. A. Blount.....Hillsboro  
 Chas. P. Dunn.....Springfield  
 M. D. Barnes.....Wilmington  
 Frank Wiedemann .....Marion  
 Chas. B. Chilcote.....Mt. Gilead  
 Frazier Reams .....Toledo  
 Scott Stahl .....Toledo  
 Chas. H. Mullen .....Pomeroy  
 F. R. Cross.....Athens  
 Robert Polen .....Chillicothe  
 Mrs. Maude S. Watson.....Logan  
 Mrs. Julia A. Cussins ..Columbus  
 John F. Ward.....Columbus  
 M. J. Callaghan.....Bellevue  
 M. J. Roach.....North Baltimore  
 Ross F. Walker.....Akron  
 J. W. Dunlapp.....Lodi  
 Frank H. Ward .....Woodsfield  
 A. A. Porter .....Zanesville  
 Seth Hattery .....Massillon  
 Mrs. R. B. Critchfield.....Wooster

## OKLAHOMA

*Delegates-at-Large*

C. N. Haskell.....Muskogee  
 Lee Cruce .....Ardmore  
 Thomas P. Gore.....Lawton  
 James R. Armstrong.Oklahoma City  
 Jas. R. Tolbert.....Hobart  
 John J. Harden.....Oklahoma City  
 Jas. S. Ross.....Oklahoma City  
 John A. Simpson....Oklahoma City

*District Delegates*

1—J. H. Maxey.....Tulsa  
 Eugene Wilkerson ..Nowata  
 John Robinson .....Miami  
 R. L. Lunsford.....Cleveland

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Mary R. Boardman..Delaware  
 Mrs. Phose B. Garver.....Ashland  
 D. A. Altman.....Wellsville  
 E. F. Lawler.....Carrollton  
 Chas. F. Smith .....Youngstown  
 Locke Miller .....Burghill  
 Hugh Duffy .....Cleveland  
 Miss Lillian Westropp ..Cleveland  
 James A. Reynolds.....Cleveland  
 Mrs. Rose Teneys.....Cleveland  
 Maurice Berzon .....Cleveland  
 Mrs. Emma Brown.....Cleveland

*District Alternates*

*District Delegates*

2—R. M. Mountcastle.....	Muskogee
Harry D. Pitchford.....	Oklmulgee
3—W. E. Utterback.....	Durant
John Craig .....	Idabel
R. P. White.....	Poteau
Ed Dunham .....	McAlester
4—Geo. Van Noy.....	Tishomingo
Scott Glenn .....	Shawnee
Ed Gooden .....	Sapulpa
E. C. Love.....	Chandler
5—Mrs. Wirt Randolph.....	Wynnewood
E. E. Glasco.....	Purcell
John Lutterel .....	Norman
Arthur McClure .....	Sulphur
6—Perry E. Waide.....	Waurika
A. Y. Aycock.....	El Reno
F. M. Bailey.....	Chickasha
G. M. Fuller.....	Anadarko
7—J. A. Carr.....	Frederick
E. L. Mitchell.....	Clinton
Sam Brown.....	Elk City
Alvin Bingham.....	Cordell
8—Felix C. Duval.....	Ponca City
John Carr .....	Enid
Grover Jordan .....	Woodward
Joe W. Howard.....	Perry

*District Alternates*

Mrs. J. C. Simpson.....	Eufaula
Mrs. J. A. Featherstone.....	Gore

## OREGON

*Delegates-at-Large*

Bert E. Haney....	Multnomah County
George L. Curry.....	Linn County
Ashby C. Dickson.....	
.....	Multnomah County
John Manning....	Multnomah County

*Alternates-at-Large**District Delegates*

1—Daniel J. Fry.....	Marion County
R. A. Harris.....	Marion County
2—Will M. Peterson.....	
.....	Umatilla County
James D. Burns..	Gilliam County
3—J. W. Morrow.....	
.....	Multnomah County
Joseph K. Carson, Jr.....	
.....	Multnomah County

*District Alternates*

## PENNSYLVANIA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Lillian D. Bergey.....	Philadelphia
543 W. Indiana Ave.	
Anna Ewing Cort.....	Latrobe
212 Fairmont St.	
Gertrude Sumner Ely....	Bryn Mawr
Hester M. Fye.....	Waynesburg
121 E. Lincoln St.	
John A. Riley.....	Sugar Notch
21 Freed St.	
John A. McSparran.....	Furniss
Clinton W. Clader.....	Allentown
114 N. Franklin St.	
Cornelius Haggarty, Jr.....	Philadelphia
.....	215 S. Sixteenth St.

*Alternates-at-Large*

Edward B. Zimmerman.....	Philadelphia
6655 McCallum St.	
Anna Madden .....	Emsworth
J. Richard Hancock...	Williamstown
125 E. Market St.	
S. H. Smith.....	Harrisburg
2000 State St.	
Mary H. Brennan.....	Pittsburgh
3872 Wind Gap Rd.	
Paulette Guffey .....	Pittsburgh
703 St. James St.	
Sara Zimmerman .....	Philadelphia
6655 McCallum St.	
William Chrisman .....	Bloomsburg
123 W. First St.	

*District Delegates*

1—John O'Donnell ...	Philadelphia
2326 Reed St.	
Michael R. Kerwick.....	
.....	Philadelphia
.....	2205 Madison Square

*District Alternates*

David Armhold .....	Philadelphia
2324 S. Eleventh St.	
James H. Toughill.....	Philadelphia
1714 S. Tenth St.	

*District Delegates*

- 2—Roland S. Morris...Philadelphia  
2113 Spruce St.  
Charles S. Hill....Philadelphia  
1337 W. Somerset St.  
3—Frank J. McDonnell.....  
.....Philadelphia  
1316 E. Montgomery Ave.  
James J. Redmond..Philadelphia  
2547 N. Hope St.  
4—Thomas J. Gavaghan.....  
.....Philadelphia  
3535 Ainslie St.  
John J. Grelis....Philadelphia  
2608 N. Twenty-ninth St.  
5—Joseph A. Gillooly..Philadelphia  
2312 E. Huntingdon St.  
Patrick F. Horan..Philadelphia  
3614 Frankford Ave.  
6—Joseph G. Denny, Jr.....  
.....Philadelphia  
5816 Washington Ave.  
John P. Boylan....Philadelphia  
638 N. Thirty-sixth St.  
7—Edward F. Bennis..Philadelphia  
641 E. Chelten Ave  
James P. Fogarty'..Philadelphia  
32 E. Mt. Pleasant Ave.  
8—John E. McDonough.....Chester  
Colonial Bldg.  
John Hemphill....West Chester  
Biddle and Matlack Sts.  
9—C. William Freed...Quakertown  
Eighth and W. Broad Sts.  
Charles D. McAvoy..Norristown  
1430 DeKalb St.  
10—James H. Ross.....Lancaster  
649 W. Chestnut St.  
John R. Bucher.....Columbia  
360 Chestnut St.  
11—Leon M. Levy.....Scranton  
1016 Myrtle St.  
Hugh J. Brady.....Archbald  
387 Main St.  
12—William G. Quigley.....  
.....Wilkes-Barre  
402 N. Main St., Parsons  
Thomas F. Farrell..Wilkes-Barre  
338 S. River St.  
13—James Campion ..Hecksherville  
Michael A. Kilkner...Girardville  
20 W. Main St.  
14—Charles B. Dotterer..Boyertown  
143 College St.  
Arthur J. D. Koenig..Allentown  
128 S. Ninth St.  
15—John H. Murray..Waverly, N. Y.  
S. Waverly P. O.  
398 Pennsylvania Ave.  
John H. Strider....Susquehanna  
P. O. Box 263  
16—Chester H. Ashton..Knoxville  
Mortimer C. Rhone..Williamsport  
699 Belmont Ave.  
17—John I. Carr.....Sunbury  
1240 Market St.  
Edward J. Mullen..Bloomsburg  
360 East St.  
18—S. O. Fraker.....Orbisonia  
Lewis D. Beale....Mifflintown  
17 S. Front St.

*District Alternates*

- Jessie L. Collet.....Philadelphia  
31 S. Eighteenth St.  
Frank M. O'Brien.....Philadelphia  
700 Callowhill St.  
John J. Dwyer.....Philadelphia  
221 Noble St.  
Anthony McCourt .....Philadelphia  
158 W. Oxford St.  
Paul J. Quinn.....Philadelphia  
2819 Midvale Ave.  
William J. Hess.....Philadelphia  
1528 Page St.  
John Cullin .....Philadelphia  
4259 Griscom St.  
Ida M. Lank.....Philadelphia  
4521 Comly St.  
Edward J. Davis.....Philadelphia  
5728 Springfield Ave.  
Richard J. Kelly.....Philadelphia  
1437 N. Sixty-second St.  
Elizabeth G. Forrester..Philadelphia  
1013 W. Erie Ave.  
Nicholas Albrecht ....Philadelphia  
2844 N. Seventh St.  
Mary A. C. Moran.....West Chester  
Wasawan Apts.  
John H. Pitman.....Swarthmore  
328 Vassar Ave.  
Edward S. Haws.....Narberth  
109 Dudley Ave.  
William A. Glasgow....Philadelphia  
Real Estate Trust Bldg.  
George W. Hensel, Jr....Quarryville  
M. R. Evans.....Lancaster  
24 S. Ann St.  
John J. Loftus.....Scranton  
408 N. Washington Ave.  
E. S. Gormley.....Scranton  
1103 Sloan Ave.  
Patrick J. Smith.....Hazleton  
466 W. Broad St.  
Edward F. McGovern..Wilkes-Barre  
239 N. Main St.  
Austin E. Noonan....Mahanoy City  
24 E. Mahanoy Ave.  
Thomas L. O'Donnell....Pottsville  
422 S. Centre St.  
William E. Fisher.....Wyomissing  
1505 Dauphin Ave.  
John Cutshall .....Allentown  
Frank J. Price.....Lackawaxen  
W. J. B. Winters.....Athens  
Elizabeth H. Peale.....Lock Haven  
262 N. Fairview St.  
Carlton Grover .....Ulysses  
John J. Boback.....Shamokin  
247 S. Vine St.  
William H. Keiser.....Milton  
Edwin Bower .....Middleburg  
Hon. James S. Magee.....  
.....New Bloomfield

*District Delegates*

- 19—G. Willis Hartman...Harrisburg  
801 N. Third St.  
G. Lawrence Strock.....Mechanicsburg  
208 S. High St.  
20—John H. McCann...Ebensburg  
508 Marion St.  
Joseph T. Kelly.....Johnstown  
457 Luzerne St., Westmont  
21—Arthur B. Clark.....Altoona  
1118 Fourteenth Ave.  
Robert A. Henderson...Altoona  
829 Twenty-fifth St.  
22—J. L. Williams....Gettysburg  
312 York St.  
Josiah W. Gitt.....Hanover  
304 Broadway  
23—James Kerr .....Clearfield  
805 S. Second St.  
Charles F. Schwab...Bradford  
11 Sanford St.  
24—Bruce F. Sterling...Uniontown  
51 N. Mt. Vernon Ave.  
R. Boyd Hays.....Masontown  
2 S. Main St.  
25—J. Albert Reed.....California  
Challen W. Waychoff.....  
Waynesburg  
334 N. Morris St.  
26—Henry J. Myers.....Chicora  
Charles R. Eckert.....Beaver  
250 Fourth St.  
27—L. B. Shannon.....Brookville  
60 Graham Ave.  
O. S. Marshall....Rural Valley  
28—S. E. Walker.....Warren  
14 Water St.  
W. S. McCuen.....Oil City  
50 Willis St.  
29—J. F. Rogan.....Erie  
239 E. Eleventh St.  
Oscar H. Roudebush...Meadville  
643 Madison Ave.  
30—Andrew Breslin...Summitt Hill  
204 W. Railroad St.  
Francis E. Walter.....Easton  
540 Lafayette St.  
31—Curtis H. Gregg....Greensburg  
R. R. 5  
John W. Stader.....Latrobe  
509 Main St.  
32—Ralph E. Smith.....Pittsburgh  
3715 Brighton Rd., N. S.  
James Houlahan .....Millvale  
221 North Ave.  
33—Joseph H. Ake....Wilkinsburg  
528 Hill Ave.  
John J. Haughey...McKeesport  
1727 Federal St.  
34—Henry Hornbostol ...Pittsburgh  
Schenley Apts., Fifth Ave.  
Michael B. Donnelly...Pittsburgh  
3310 Webster Ave.  
35—David L. Lawrence..Pittsburgh  
349 S. Winebiddle Ave.  
Emma Guffey Miller.....  
Pittsburgh  
4 VonLent Pl.

*District Alternates*

- D. W. Schaffner.....Enhaut  
John A. Douglas.....Harrisburg  
2738 Lexington St.  
Mary A. Callen.....Cresson  
319 Ashcroft Ave.  
Ella Kearns .....Conemaugh  
234 First St.  
Bernard J. Clark.....Altoona  
509 Twelfth St.  
Grace M. Curran.....Altoona  
2323 Broad Ave.  
Michael S. Niles.....York  
R. R. 6  
Charles A. Hawkins.....Delta  
George Addison Simpson..Bradford  
R. R. 2  
Harry J. Collins.....Bradford  
8 Jaynes Pl.  
E. H. McClelland.....Uniontown  
346 Morgantown St.  
George M. Strickler.....Vanderbilt  
Floyd W. Patterson....Waynesburg  
R. R. 7  
Arno S. McClellan.....Waynesburg  
  
Charles W. Goerman.....Ambridge  
829 Merchant St.  
William H. Larkin, Jr.....Butler  
619 Fairview Ave.  
Harry G. Means.....Brookville  
182 Jefferson St.  
W. J. Glenn.....Ford City  
Guy M. Thorne.....Greenvile  
104 Shenango St.  
D. J. Driscoll.....St. Marys  
139 N. St. Michael St.  
Charles M. Caryl.....Erie  
1028 East Ave.  
Nicholas C. Schoppert...Titusville  
325 E. Walnut St.  
J. Anson Singer...East Stroudsburg  
116 Washington St.  
Norman Dreher .....Stroudsburg  
J. Clarke Bell.....Greensburg  
324 S. Maple Ave.  
Charles E. Snyder.....Greensburg  
129 N. Main St.  
John P. Ladesic.....Etna  
17 Freeport St.  
Thomas A. Joyce.....Pittsburgh  
749 Reedsdale St., N. S.  
Samuel Richard .....Wilkinsburg  
10 Kenmore Ave., Forest Hills  
Charles A. Stewart.....Tarentum  
622 Roup St.  
Harry F. Logsdon.....Pittsburgh  
219 N. Elizabeth St.  
Thomas P. Mooney.....Pittsburgh  
3463½ Ligonier St.  
Peter J. Demas.....Pittsburgh  
709 Homewood Ave.  
Andrew J. Manion.....Pittsburgh  
318 Walter Ave.

*District Delegates*

36—Bernard F. Schneider..... Pittsburgh  
 .....314 Church Ave., Mt. Oliver Sta.  
 John E. Kennedy.....Crafton  
 2 McCormick St.

*District Alternates*

Casper P. Mayer.....Bridgeville  
 .....Washington Rd.  
 Edward J. McGee.....Pittsburgh  
 325 Jucunda St.

## RHODE ISLAND

*Delegates-at-Large*

Patrick H. Quinn.....Providence  
 1411 Turks Head Bldg.  
 Luigi De Pasquale.....Providence  
 908 Union Trust Bldg.  
 William S. Flynn.....Providence  
 87 Weybosset St.  
 Joseph H. Gainer.....Providence  
 1138 R. I. Hospital Trust Bldg.  
 Mrs. Robert E. Newton.....  
 .....Providence  
 .....87 Hope St.  
 Mrs. Isabelle Ahearn O'Neill....  
 .....Providence  
 .....223 Knight St.  
 Mrs. Mary A. Meade.....Providence  
 187 Althea St.  
 Mrs. Julia T. Myers.....Providence  
 51 Methyl St.

*Alternates-at-Large*

Thomas J. Dorney.....Providence  
 .....36 Exchange Pl.  
 Patrick P. Curran.....Providence  
 1138 R. I. Hospital Trust Bldg.  
 Thomas A. Kennelly.....  
 .....Meshanticut Park  
 Robert E. Quinn.....Providence  
 1411 Turks Head Bldg.  
 Mrs. Mary A. Ryan.....Providence  
 .....37 Adelaide Ave.  
 Mrs. Susan Sharp Adams...Kenyon

Miss Elizabeth Burns....Providence  
 .....63 Spooner St.  
 Mrs. Catherine Smith....Providence  
 198 Blackstone St.

*District Alternates*

1—Mortimer A. Sullivan....Newport  
 Canonicus Bldg.  
 Thomas H. Donahue....Providence  
 211 Doyle Ave.  
 Harvey A. Baker.....Providence  
 837 Industrial Tr. Bldg.  
 Theodore Francis Green....  
 .....Providence  
 .....1138 R. I. Hosp. Tr. Bldg.  
 2—James H. Kieran....Providence  
 Tribune Bldg.  
 Alberic A. Archambault....  
 .....Providence  
 .....106 Grosvenor Bldg.  
 Sumner Mowry.....Peace Dale  
 William G. Troy.....Providence  
 541 R. I. Hosp. Tr. Bldg.  
 3—Michael P. McLaughlin....  
 .....Providence  
 .....166 Aborn St.  
 Michael F. Costello....Pawtucket  
 18 East Ave.  
 John P. Meade.....Providence  
 431 Grosvenor Bldg.  
 James M. McCarthy..Woonsocket  
 274 Harris Ave.

Maurice Robinson .....Providence  
 .....512 Grosvenor Bldg.  
 Patrick J. Murphy.....Newport  
 .....169 Broadway  
 Jerome S. Parrillo.....Providence  
 .....31 America St.  
 John J. Murphy.....Providence  
 .....30 Corliss St.

Margaret M. Fitzgerald..Providence  
 .....419 Grosvenor Bldg  
 Joseph A. Hickey.....Providence  
 .....33 Burnside St.

Harry E. Ballayuto....Providence  
 .....559 Broadway  
 Joseph F. Shea.....Valley Falls  
 .....330 High St.  
 Dr. Angelo M. Parente..Providence  
 .....591 Charles St.  
 James A. Russell.....Central Falls  
 .....91 Cross St.  
 James H. Gorman....Central Falls  
 .....679 Dexter St.  
 Helen Z. Kinsley.....Pawtucket  
 .....30 Whipple St.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Ellison D. Smith.Washington, D. C.  
 Cole L. Blease...Washington, D. C.  
 John G. Richards.....Columbia  
 Roach S. Stewart.....Lancaster

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mendel L. Smith.....Camden  
 T. B. Butler.....Gaffney  
 John Gary Evans.....Spartanburg  
 Mrs. LeRoy Springs.....Lancaster

*District Alternates*

1—Theodore D. Jersey...Charleston  
 R. M. Jefferies.....Walterboro  
 2—J. E. Harley.....Barnwell  
 W. L. Riley.....Denmark  
 3—G. A. Neuffer.....Abbeville  
 L. C. Richardson.....Anderson

A. R. Johnson.....St. George  
 G. J. Knobeloch.....Charleston  
 D. P. Brown.....Varville  
 G. L. Toole.....Aiken  
 Mrs. R. D. Wright.....Newberry  
 Leon L. Rice.....Anderson



Dementi Studio

**GOVERNOR HARRY F. BYRD of Virginia**  
**Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee**



*District Delegates*

4—C. G. Wyche.....	Greenville
R. T. Wilson.....	Laurens
5—J. B. Westbrook.....	Chester
W. L. DePass, Jr.....	Camden
6—Ramsome J. Williams.....	Mullins
W. Marshall Bridges.....	Florence
7—Claud N. Sapp.....	Columbia
Mike Gleaton .....	Springfield

*District Alternates*

J. T. Jeter.....	Union
John K. Hamblin.....	Union
R. C. Granberry.....	Gaffney
Spencer R. McMaster.....	Winnsboro
N. W. Bennett.....	Clio
Brown M. Hamer.....	Hamer
D. W. Robinson.....	Columbia
R. D. Epps.....	Sumter

## SOUTH DAKOTA

*Delegates*

W. J. Bulow.....	Pierre
Holton Davenport.....	Sioux Falls
Tom Brady .....	Worthing
Walter Weygint .....	Howard
H. E. Hitchcock .....	Mitchell
John Firey .....	Aberdeen
L. W. Bicknell.....	Webster
L. Lapier .....	Huron
C. S. Eastman.....	Hot Springs
H. F. Fellows.....	Rapid City

*Alternates*

John Bowler.....	Sioux Falls
John S. Bartow.....	Platte
Matt Hafner .....	Newell
Harold Doyle .....	Yankton
William Calvin .....	Sturgis
Ed Whalen .....	De Smet
Matt Cummins .....	Wilmot
C. R. Goss .....	Watertown
Ed Stenger .....	Hermosa
Matt Gillen.....	White River

## TENNESSEE

*Delegates-at-Large*

Capt. Mitchell Long.....	Knoxville
E. H. Crump.....	Memphis
Benton McMillin .....	Nashville
Thos. R. Preston.....	Chattanooga
A. B. Broadbent.....	Clarksville
C. A. Miller.....	Bolivar

*Alternates-at-Large*

Capt. J. G. Sims.....	Knoxville
Walter P. Armstrong.....	Memphis
Fitzgerald Hall .....	Nashville
George E. Banks .....	Winchester
Mrs. Lyon Childress .....	Nashville
Mrs. Dorsey Bramley .....	McLemoresville

Mrs. L. S. Gillentine.....	Nashville
Austin Peay .....	

A. L. Todd .....	Murfreesboro
Mrs. John Aust.....	Nashville

*District Delegates*

1—D. A. Barger.....	Bristol
Robert C. Coleman .....	Rogersville
2—Wiliston Cox .....	Knoxville
Harvey H. Hannah .....	Nashville
3—W. E. Brock .....	Chattanooga
George N. Welch .....	Campaign
4—H. B. McGinnis .....	Carthage
J. N. Cox .....	Cookeville
5—Jas. R. Jetton .....	Murfreesboro
W. C. Houston, Jr.....	Nashville
c/o American Natl. Bank	
6—Thomas J. Tyne.....	Nashville
307 Seventh Ave. N.	
R. L. Peck .....	Springfield
7—Eugene Stockard .....	Lawrenceburg
Conner Bates .....	Centerville
8—T. J. Murray .....	Jackson
Y. Q. Caldwell, Jr.....	Paris
9—William Kinney .....	Brownsville
D. M. Sparkman .....	
Mrs. W. B. Bell .....	Alamo
Mrs. W. N. Calhoun .....	Ridgely
10—Chas. M. Bryan .....	Memphis
L. J. Moss .....	Memphis

*District Alternates*

Miss Willis Clage .....	Greeneville
Clyde Austin .....	Knoxville
S. E. Clague .....	Knoxville
Mrs. Horace Vanderveert .....	
A. S. Caldwell .....	Nashville
Walter M. Hayes .....	
Thos. Wilson .....	Crossville
W. S. Sadler .....	Gainesboro
Edwin T. Nance .....	Shelbyville
Chas. T. Wilson .....	Manchester

Mrs. Lou Lusky .....	Nashville
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Howard Savage .....	Clarksville
Miss Susie Bell Moore .....	Spring Hill
O. E. Kirk .....	Linden
C. A. Stienback .....	Somerville
H. N. Anderson .....	
D. M. Sparkman .....	Dyersburg
F. S. Nevills .....	Ripley

Percy Biggs .....	Memphis
Frank L. Rice .....	

## TEXAS

*Delegates-at-Large*

Dan Moody .....	Austin
M. M. Crane .....	Dallas
Myron Blalock .....	Marshall
Walter C. Woodward .....	Coleman
W. A. Tarver .....	Corsicana
W. A. Keeling .....	Austin
Thos. H. Ball .....	Houston

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. Wilmot Odell .....	Fort Worth
Miss Margie Neal .....	Carthage
Mrs. F. F. Weymouth .....	Amarillo
Mrs. Hal Greer .....	Beaumont
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames .....	Georgetown
Mrs. R. L. Bobbitt .....	Laredo
Mrs. S. J. Smith .....	Austin

*Delegates-at-Large*

Cone Johnson ..... Tyler  
 Jesse H. Jones ..... Houston  
 Dr. J. C. Hardy ..... Belton

Lynch Davidson ..... Houston  
 Wright Morrow ..... Houston  
 Mrs. A. C. Zehner ..... Dallas  
 Mrs. W. E. Spell ..... Waco  
 Mrs. Frank Gilbert ..... Dallas  
 Mrs. W. H. Wetland ..... Manor  
 Mrs. Lee Rountree ..... Bryan  
 Mrs. W. D. Wilson ..... Bay City  
 Mrs. Forrest Farley ..... Austin  
 Mrs. Fannie Campbell Womack ..... Palestine  
 Mrs. Florence Floore ..... Cleburne  
 Miss Mary Jagoe ..... Denton  
 Mrs. W. R. Chapman ..... Stamford  
 Mrs. Lee Joseph ..... Austin

*District Delegates*

1—W. J. Pollard ..... Paris  
 Grover Sellers Sulphur Springs  
 2—A. A. Seale ..... Nacogdoches  
 K. W. Denman ..... Lufkin  
 3—M. L. Cox ..... Canton  
 E. B. Alford ..... Henderson  
 4—M. W. Muse ..... McKinney  
 E. F. Blakely ..... Bonham  
 5—George C. Purl ..... Dallas  
 John Sharpe ..... Ennis  
 6—J. C. Bradley ..... Groesbeck  
 Wayne R. Howell ..... Corsicana  
 7—Adam Cone ..... Palestine  
 E. R. Cheesborough Galveston  
 8—Alvin S. Moody ..... Houston  
 Florence Sterling ..... Houston  
 9—M. T. Dunning ..... Gonzales  
 M. S. Munson ..... Angleton  
 10—H. N. Graves ..... Georgetown  
 Fred Blundell ..... Lockhart  
 11—J. R. McClelland ..... Gatesville  
 W. M. Sleeper ..... Waco  
 12—Tom W. Hines ..... Vernon  
 Karl A. Crowley ..... Fort Worth  
 13—Grady Woodruff ..... Decatur  
 Homer Latham ..... Bowie  
 14—A. J. Wirtz ..... Seguin  
 John Boyle ..... San Antonio  
 15—H. P. Hornby ..... Uvalde  
 W. R. Montgomery ..... Edinburg  
 16—R. E. Sherman ..... El Paso  
 L. L. Farr ..... San Angelo  
 17—F. M. Newman ..... Brady  
 E. D. Gatlin ..... Breckenridge  
 18—Grover B. Hill ..... Potter City  
 G. E. Hamilton ..... Matador

*Alternates-at-Large*

Mrs. S. P. Brooks ..... Waco  
 Mrs. A. Y. Baker ..... Edinburg  
 Miss Mary Lake Henderson ..... Cameron  
 Mrs. J. T. Newsome ..... Corsicana  
 Mrs. Tom H. Miller ..... George West  
 Roger Gillis ..... Del Rio  
 R. A. Underwood ..... Plainview  
 Robert L. Halliday ..... El Paso  
 R. M. Kelly ..... Longview  
 Shearn Moody ..... Galveston  
 Dr. S. M. Grostwaite ..... Waco  
 Fred Horton ..... Greenville  
 S. L. Gill ..... Raymondville

Ed Howard ..... Wichita Falls  
 B. A. Stufflebeme ..... Ennis  
 J. D. Sandifer ..... Abilene  
 S. P. Brooks ..... Waco

*District Alternates*

C. D. Berry ..... Cooper  
 J. E. Mattinson ..... Mt. Vernon  
 R. L. Murray ..... Port Arthur  
 O. M. Stone ..... Jasper  
 J. T. Larue ..... Athens  
 B. B. Taylor ..... Longview  
 L. A. Clark ..... Greenville  
 Dan F. McMillan ..... Whitewright  
 R. G. Storey ..... Dallas  
 J. J. Taylor ..... Dallas  
 Mack Bennett ..... Normangee  
 J. T. Drumwright ..... Wortham  
 Mary D. Robinson ..... Point Blank  
 W. T. Jamison ..... Dayton  
 J. M. Boyle ..... Houston  
 Mrs. O. C. Castle ..... Houston  
 Charles Ingram ..... Wharton  
 Newton Crain ..... Cuero  
 Mrs. Jane McCallum ..... Austin  
 Charles G. Kruger ..... Bellville  
 George Carter ..... Marlin  
 Hugh Cureton ..... Meridian  
 F. W. Shropshire ..... Weatherford  
 Mrs. J. W. Cooper ..... Fort Worth  
 W. R. Nichols ..... Seymour  
 Jeff Fowler ..... Throckmorton  
 P. J. Lewis ..... San Antonio  
 Mrs. Laura B. Negley ..... San Antonio  
 A. P. Johnson ..... Carrizo Springs  
 Mary P. Miller ..... Benavides  
 Mrs. Geo. P. Walker ..... Kerrville  
 Mrs. F. M. Rose ..... Del Rio  
 H. M. Colbert ..... Nolan  
 G. Y. Lee ..... Eden  
 G. C. Moffett ..... Quanah  
 J. H. Goodman ..... Lubbock

## UTAH

*Delegates-at-Large*

William H. King Washington, D. C.  
 W. W. Ray ..... Salt Lake City  
     Continental Bank Bldg.  
 Mrs. Wm. Osborn ..... Cedar City  
 Mrs. John J. Galligan .....  
     Salt Lake City  
     559 Third Ave.  
 Joseph Chez ..... Ogden  
     402 Central Bldg.  
 Wm. Robinson ..... Provo

*Alternates-at-Large*

R. C. Clark ..... Moab  
 J. T. McConnell ..... Salt Lake City  
     Beason Bldg.  
 Ashby Snow ..... Salt Lake City  
     Hotel Utah  
 Mrs. Grover Rich ..... Salt Lake City  
     1400 Yale Ave.

*Delegates-at-Large*

D. M. Draper.....Salt Lake City  
 Continental Bank Bldg.  
 O. W. Ewing.....Salt Lake City  
 Walker Bank Bldg.  
 Wilson McCarthy....Salt Lake City  
 Newhouse Bldg.  
 S. W. Golding.....Price  
 Ernest Holmes.....Salt Lake City  
 459 Pusgley St.  
 S. B. Dobbs.....Ogden  
 Kiesel Bldg.  
 O. R. Michelsen.....Richfield  
 F. P. Champ.....Logan  
 John F. Tolton.....Beaver  
 Wm. J. Halloran....Salt Lake City  
 Judge Bldg.

*Alternates-at-Large*

## VERMONT

*Delegates*

Park H. Pollard.....Proctorsville  
 John B. Dyer.....Rutland  
 Dr. Patrick Mahoney....Burlington  
 Patrick E. Sullivan....St. Albans  
 William A. Gleeson.....Brighton  
 Frederick C. Martin....Bennington  
 James M. Cosgrove...St. Johnsbury  
 James P. Galleher.....Montpelier

*Alternates*

Dr. E. J. Rogers.....Pittsford  
 Edward Ashline .....Burlington  
 O. C. Sawyer.....Sharon  
 Mrs. Thos. W. Maloney...Rutland  
 Mrs. Wm. A. Gleeson....Brighton  
 John O'Day .....Castleton  
 Louis F. Martin.....Manchester  
 Dr. G. W. Scott.....Randolph

## VIRGINIA

*Delegates-at-Large*

Harry F. Byrd  
 Claude A. Swanson  
 Carter Glass  
 J. Murray Hooker  
 E. Lee Trinkle  
 W. T. Reed  
 G. Walter Mapp  
 Mrs. R. C. Watts

*Alternates-at-Large*

W. W. Ould  
 Mrs. A. P. Staples  
 Lemuel F. Smith  
 J. M. Arnold  
 George A. Bowles  
 Mrs. W. C. N. Merchant  
 Miss Annie Mann  
 Mrs. Z. D. Sirman

*District Delegates*

- 1—J. Harry Rew  
 Dr. W. A. Harris  
 Rodney M. Coggin  
 Thomas Sheehan
- 2—James S. Barron  
 Norman R. Hamilton  
 John M. Britt  
 John B. Dey
- 3—J. Fulner Bright  
 C. M. Self  
 Richard Crane
- 4—Jordan Temple  
 Morris R. Lyon
- 5—E. S. Reid  
 John L. Reeves  
 John W. Carter  
 M. G. Bruce
- 6—Holman Willis  
 Paul Fleet
- 7—Aubrey G. Weaver  
 Fred W. Twyman  
 Wade H. Massie  
 Richard S. Wright
- 8—S. C. Brittle  
 Robinson Moncure  
 Carl H. Noiting  
 Daniel S. Porter
- 9—B. T. Wilson  
 Wright Cod  
 A. W. Aston  
 Mrs. Scott Lytton

*District Alternates*

George B. Lyon  
 Charles W. Mugler  
 S. Wilkins Matthews  
 C. S. Towles  
 George E. Bunting  
 R. D. Hamilton  
 Charles H. Consolvo  
 E. H. Williams  
 Lewis F. Powell  
 H. M. Ratcliffe  
 Edith Bolton  
 M. M. Carver  
 Seldon B. Harris

A. P. Craddock  
 L. S. Davis  
 Grover E. Miller  
 N. B. Payne  
 W. H. Langhorne  
 Gray Williams  
 S. W. Brooks  
 James Ashby  
 W. Hill Brown, Jr.  
 Whit D. Peyton  
 John A. Mahoney  
 Mrs. H. G. Peters  
 Dr. D. M. Pence  
 W. R. D. Moncure

*District Delegates*

10—S. L. Ferguson  
 O. L. Evans  
 W. H. East  
 O. B. Harvey

*District Alternates*

F. J. Merkling

## WASHINGTON

*Delegates-at-Large*

C. C. Dill.....Spokane  
 A. Scott Bullitt.....Seattle  
 Hugh C. Todd.....Seattle  
 Robert Smith .....Palouse  
 Nella Hurd .....Seattle  
 Margaret Burgund .....Spokane  
 Charles Rantz .....Bremerton  
 Robert E. Evans.....Tacoma

*Alternates-at-Large**District Delegates*

1—Stephen F. Chadwick.....Seattle  
 William Pigott .....Seattle  
 2—R. L. Davis.....Mt. Vernon  
 A. J. Friese.....Bellingham  
 3—Dr. D. O. Nugent.....Centralia  
 George P. Fishburne.....Tacoma  
 4—C. F. H. Vollendorff.Walla Walla  
 E. F. Blaine.....Granger  
 5—J. M. Geraghty.....Spokane  
 Emanuel Oppenheimer.Chevelah

*District Alternates*

J. M. Wilson.....Seattle  
 W. B. Severyns.....Seattle  
 Smith Bldg.  
 E. B. McGill.....Everett  
 A. E. Edwards.....Bellingham  
 Charles Showman .....Vancouver  
 Guy B. Williams .....Kelso  
 W. A. White.....Walla Walla  
 John F. Worum .....Clarkstown  
 Clarence D. Martin.....Cheney  
 O. P. Barrows.....Wenatchee

## WEST VIRGINIA

*Delegates-at-Large*

John J. Coniff.....Wheeling  
 Wm. H. Sawyers.....Hinton  
 Clyde B. Johnson .....Charleston  
 Gray Silver .....Martinsburg  
 Mrs. J. Walter Barnes..Charleston  
 Mrs. Percy Byrd .....Clarksburg  
 Mrs. Frank N. Mann ..Huntington  
 Mrs. J. T. Lambert.....Wayne

*Alternates-at-Large*

H. L. Goodman.....Ronceverte  
 C. E. Mahan, Jr.....Fayetteville  
 R. C. Melton.....Winifrede  
 J. J. P. O'Brien .....Wheeling  
 Eleanor N. Simpson.....Glendale  
 E. J. Somerville.....Point Pleasant  
 Kenner B. Stephenson.Parkersburg  
 Grover C. Worrell.....Mullens

*District Delegates*

1—C. E. Smith.....Fairmont  
 Camden S. Taney.....Wheeling  
 2—Samuel T. Spears.....Elkins  
 Harry H. Byrer.....Martinsburg  
 3—J. Hornor Davis.....Clarksburg  
 Andrew Edmiston, Jr....Weston  
 4—John L. Hawkins.....Huntington  
 Lawrence J. Corbly.Huntington  
 5—Don Chafin .....Logan  
 W. M. Brown.....Williamson  
 6—Angus MacDonald ....Charleston  
 J. L. Bumgardner.....Beckley

*District Alternates*

Andrew V. Fisher.....Wheeling  
 T. E. Joyce.....Grafton  
 Marvin L. Taylor.....Morgantown  
 Wayne F. Allen.....Clarksburg  
 Frank J. Maxwell.....Clarksburg  
 John Kenna Kerwood.....Ripley  
 Robert Wilson .....Parkersburg  
 G. C. Hash.....Princeton  
 Mrs. Nettie Vass Steele...Bluefield  
 Alvin Hall .....Madison  
 N. R. Price.....Marlinton

## WISCONSIN

*Delegates-at-Large*

John M. Callahan.....Milwaukee  
 George L. Dwinnell.....Waukesha  
 Ferris M. White.....River Falls  
 M. J. Mersch.....Stevens Point

*Alternates-at-Large*

L. F. Nelson.....Kaukauna  
 Thomas J. Moore.....Milwaukee  
 Lincoln H. Parker.....River Falls  
 B. F. Steinel.....Milwaukee

*District Delegates*

1—Calvin Stewart .....Kenosha  
 J. Allan Simpson.....Racine  
 2—H. L. Ziedler.....Columbus  
 H. B. Kaempfer.....West Bend  
 3—Leo T. Crowley.....Madison  
 W. D. Carroll...Prairie du Chien  
 4—Wm. J. McCormick...West Allis  
 Peter S. Brzonkala...Milwaukee

*District Alternates*

Peter Pirsch .....Kenosha  
 Mrs. Calvin Stewart.....Kenosha  
 Paul Hemmy .....Juneau  
 F. W. Bucklen.....West Bend  
 J. M. McGonigle.....Sun Prairie  
 Dr. J. F. Antoine.Fairie du Chien  
 Walter McGrath .....Milwaukee  
 Jos. F. Szymkowiak.....Milwaukee

*District Delegates*

5—H. V. Schoenecker.....Milwaukee
Raymond T. Moore.....Milwaukee
6—Geo. A. Jagerson.....Neenah
B. F. Sheridan.....Fond du Lac
7—W. G. Evenson.....Baraboo
F. W. Fox.....La Crosse
8—F. P. Regner.....Wausau
J. R. Pfiffner.....Stevens Point
9—F. J. Rooney.....Appleton
James Hughes.....De Pere
10—John B. Piotrowski.....Chippewa Falls
Wm. H. Frawley.....Eau Claire
11—Peter B. Cadigan.....Superior
Fred Russell .....Superior

*District Alternates*

Omar Bittman .....	Milwaukee
Max Hottlett .....	Milwaukee
F. J. Egerer.....	Chilton
Chas. Thornton .....	Fond du Lac
Joseph Lins.....	Spring Green
A. H. Schubert.....	La Crosse
P. T. Stone.....	Wausau
L. M. Nash.....	Wisconsin Rapids
S. D. Balliet.....	Appleton
Carl Riggins .....	Oconto
Frank C. Hughes.....	Chippewa Falls

Harry Engeldinger .....	Durand
John O'Sullivan .....	Washburn
W. Alexander .....	Hayward

## WYOMING

*Delegates*

C. E. Blair.....Laramie
Dr. Thos. K. Cassidy.....Gillette
Thos. W. O'Hara.....Rawlins
L. E. Laird.....Worland
Geo. T. Beck.....Cody
H. H. Schwartz.....Casper
Consolidated Royalty Bldg.
P. J. O'Connor.....Casper
Wyoming Natl. Bank
D. W. Greenburg.....Casper
Midwest Refining Co.
J. A. Vance.....Torrington
T. D. O'Neil.....Big Piney
Thos. Fagan.....Lusk
Dr. J. R. Hylton.....Douglas
Fred W. Johnson.....Rock Springs
N. A. Pearson.....Sheridan
J. C. O'Mahoney.....Cheyenne
First Natl. Bank Bldg.
Mrs. P. J. Quealy.....Kemmerer
Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross...Cheyenne
Mrs. T. S. Taliaferro..Rock Springs

*Alternates*

C. V. Crouter.....	Wheatland
Mrs. D. J. Howell.....	Cheyenne
Murray Patch .....	Buffalo
M. H. Brown.....	Riverton
Mrs. Antoinette Stoddard...	Douglas
Mrs. R. R. Rose.....	Casper

Mrs. Abe Goldstein.....	Cheyenne
M. J. Foley.....	Casper

## ALASKA

*Delegates*

Simon Hellenthal .....	Juneau
John W. Troy.....	Juneau
Harley Turner .....	Juneau
Allen Shattuck .....	Juneau
J. McDonald .....	Juneau
James McCloskey .....	Juneau

*Alternates*

Mrs. A. J. Diamond.....	Valdez
Harry F. Morton.....	Anchorage
J. R. Campbell.....	Anchorage
J. W. Powers.....	Fairbanks
T. H. Deal.....	Fairbanks

## CANAL ZONE

*Delegates*

Mrs. L. O. Keen.....	Balboa
Louis Townsley .....	Balboa
Capt. R. H. O'Brien.....	Balboa
Gus Eisenmann .....	Panama
T. Aanstoos .....	Cristobal
J. R. Stapler.....	Balboa

*Alternates*

C. J. Boyle.....	Balboa
Eugene Eisenmann .....	Panama
S. Roberts .....	Balboa
Thomas Locken .....	Ancon
Mrs. Maud Eggleston.....	Cristobal
A. P. Byrne.....	Balboa

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

*Delegates*

R. Wilmer Bolling.....1800 E St., N. W.
James William Bryan.....
.....National Press Bldg.
John B. Colpoys.....
.....1479 Harvard St., N. W.
John F. Costello.....
.....3149 Newark St., N. W.

*Alternates*

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

*Delegates*

Mrs. Florence J. Harriman.....	2017 F St., N. W.
Breckinridge Long .....	3224 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Mrs. Marie D. Marye.....	1800 N St., N. W.
M. Carter Hall.....	Munsey Bldg.
John F. Killeen.....	1316 Wisconsin Ave., N. W.
Rowland B. Mahany.....	Bond Bldg.
Dr. John T. Ready.....	Potomac Bank Bldg.
Watson B. Miller.....	Bond Bldg.

*Alternates*

## HAWAII

*Delegates*

L. L. McCandless.....	Honolulu
M. M. Magoon.....	Honolulu
W. H. Heen.....	Honolulu
J. Walter Doyle.....	Honolulu
S. B. Kemp.....	Honolulu
B. G. Rivenburg.....	Honolulu

*Alternates*

Louis K. Silva.....	Honolulu
Mrs. A. W. Harris.....	Honolulu
Charles Liu .....	Honolulu
D. DeMello .....	S. Kona
Augustine Pombo .....	Waikiki
Jesse Uluihi .....	Honolulu

## PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

*Delegates*

Wm. H. Anderson.....	Manila
Robert E. Manly.....	Naga
Leon J. Lambert.....	Manila
Frank A. Churchill.....	Manila
Walter E. Antrim.....	Manila
James M. Williamson.....	San Fernando, La Union

*Alternates*

Charles E. Yeater.....	Sedalia, Mo.
James J. Rafferty.....	Manila
Amzi B. Kelly.....	Manila
Stewart Tait .....	Manila
L. George Lambert.....	Pasay
J. N. Wolfson.....	Manila Polo Club

## PORTO RICO

*Delegates*

Benjamin J. Horton.....	Mayaguez
Lee H. Vendig.....	San Juan
Henry W. Dooley.....	San Juan
W. Reece Bennett.....	San Juan
Jean Springstead Whittemore...	Mayaguez
Mary W. Ramirez.....	Mayaguez

*Alternates*

Rafael Rios .....	Ponce
Dr. C. E. Horne.....	San Juan
W. R. Ryan.....	San Juan
Mrs. F. W. Vaughan.....	San Juan
Isabel Locke Horton.....	Mayaguez
Eliza B. K. Dooley.....	San Juan

## VIRGIN ISLANDS

*Delegates*

F. E. Jones.....	St. Thomas
H. V. Berg.....	Christiansted

*Alternates*

L. J. Malmin.....	Chicago, Ill.
Joseph Alexander.....	Christiansted, St. Croix

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: Mr. W. W. Durbin of Ohio will make the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

MR. W. W. DURBIN (of Ohio, reading): "Mr. Chairman and members of the Democratic National Convention: Your Committee on Permanent Organization begs leave to report the following permanent officers of the convention: For permanent president, Hon. Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas (prolonged applause) and we recommend that the other temporary officers of the convention be made permanent.

Respectfully submitted,

W. W. DURBIN, Chairman.

ALICE CAMPBELL GOOD, Secretary."

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN: The chair appoints Mr. William C. Bruce of Maryland, Mr. James C. Dahlman of Nebraska, Mr. J. M. Geraghty of Washington, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson of New York, Mrs. F. D. Gardner of Missouri and Mrs. Josephine M. McCowan of Ohio as a committee to escort the permanent chairman to the platform. (Applause, delegates rising.)

## ADDRESS OF THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas): Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Responsibility as well as the honor associated with the chairmanship of this convention is fully recognized. The duty to serve with patience and impartiality is readily acknowledged. The primary task of a permanent chairman is not to define principles or suggest policies. That has been well done by the temporary chairman, Mr. Bowers (applause), in a brilliant and forceful address. My chief duty is to assist in conducting the business of the convention. I shall, however, avail myself of the privilege which custom has established and make brief mention of some subjects of general political interest.

Never before have the representatives of the National Democratic Party assembled under such impressive conditions. We are face to face with a notable political crisis. The exercise of sound judgment and common sense in the nomination of candidates and the demonstration of loyalty to accepted party principles constitute a sane way in which to harmonize our differences and are essential to success in the approaching campaign.

When this convention has nominated its candidate there will be no doubt of his eligibility to serve as President of the United

States under the Constitution of this great Republic. (Prolonged applause.)

The Democratic Party has an issue that has not materially changed since the days of Thomas Jefferson. The necessity for political reform is greater now than ever before. Since its birth, our party has safeguarded the rights and privileges of the masses. It has championed personal liberty and opposed centralization. (Applause.) Its founder sought to protect the unselfish citizen against the abuse of laws and governmental agencies for private profit. Jackson aroused the masses to the menace of plutocracy. Cleveland voiced resentment at the abuse of the taxing power to enrich certain groups and the exploitation of the public. Wilson defined anew the Democratic ideals of justice and equality. (Applause.) From its formation the Democratic Party has sought to define as the fundamental or primary function of government equal rights and opportunities for all citizens.

In this campaign the Republicans cunningly seek to win their way back into the public favor by advancing false issues. The national administration during the last seven years is indefensible from any standpoint. (Applause.) For corruption and inefficiency it is equaled only by the prostitution of power in states dominated by the Republican Party. (Applause.)

The oft-repeated assertion by our adversaries that Democrats can not be trusted to promote sound business is totally false. What other period since our government was established compares favorably with the eight years of Woodrow Wilson's administration? (Applause.) The boldest champion of the opposition can not recall a time when real prosperity was more general. Labor was profitably employed, industry operated on full time, and agriculture was on an equality with all other businesses. (Applause.)

The boasted prosperity of the Republican administration is a sham prosperity. It does not compare with that enjoyed during Democratic control. The secretary of the treasury in his annual report for 1927 admits that conditions during that year were not so good as during the previous year. The President's Industrial Conference Board asserts that prosperity in the United States is confined to giant corporations. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce examined 100,000 business concerns during 1927, and reported 34,000 of them not making any profit whatever. The commissioner of internal revenue states that three-fifths, only three-fifths, of the corporations engaged in the manufacture of textiles, and a similar percentage of those engaged in the manufacture of leather goods, reported net income for the year 1925. The record of commercial and bank failures discloses the



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**FRANK HAGUE**  
Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee



falsity of this Republican claim of unusual prosperity. In 1919, under Mr. Wilson's administration, only fifty state banks and four national banks failed, with aggregate liabilities of less than twelve million dollars. In 1925 361 state banks and 103 national banks went into receivership with aggregate liabilities exceeding \$175,000,000. Mark the figures for 1926: Seven hundred and seventy-two state banks became insolvent, and their total liabilities exceeded \$226,000,000. The figures for 1927 are not complete, but they disclose insolvent state banks during that year whose liabilities exceed \$200,000,000. The annual value of agricultural products decreased \$1,500,000,000, comparing the year 1924 with 1927. The Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed a decrease of twenty per cent now, compared with the labor employment during the year last past. The depressed condition of agriculture is of common knowledge. This greatest of all industries has been steadily declining since Wilson's administration ended. Every one knows, though some may not admit, that agriculture has been going backward since Wilson's administrations ended. Never before has there existed such discontent among farm producers. They justly attribute their distress to the policies of the Republican Party. Why should farmers be required to sell their products on the open market of the world and to buy what they consume from trusts and monopolies which arbitrarily fix the prices of their commodities, an unjust and oppressive system made possible by excessive tariff duties?

(Applause.)

The importance of this issue and these facts is emphasized by the repeated refusal of the administration to grant substantial relief. Farmers are awake to this, and they are ready, if we afford them the opportunity, to right their wrongs through political action. (Applause.) The Republican Party has betrayed the farmers of the United States and now seeks to deceive them again with new false promises.

The only plank for specific relief in the Kansas City platform is increased tariff duties, which experience shows can not be made effective. The equality of agriculture may be promoted by reducing the tariff on manufactured articles consumed by farmers, by a system of export expansion, or by recognition, if you please, of the principle of what is known as the McNary-Haugen bill, twice vetoed by the President of the United States. (Applause.) The farm population will not vote for Mr. Hoover. (Applause.) He has led the forces opposed to adequate and substantial measures for the improvement of living conditions on the farm and has boldly challenged the advocates of such measures.

Does a fair survey of facts justify the claim of the Repub-

lican Party that such exceptional prosperity has prevailed during the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge which would invite disaster to change political control next November? To ask the question is to answer it.

Gentlemen, property would certainly be safer with the Democrats in power. (Applause.) There would be no danger of its being stolen by government agents. (Applause.) Mr. Bowers, in his notable address to the convention, discussed the corruption which has disgraced the executive department during the present and the preceding administration. Corruption is the red danger signal of revolution. Such a saturnalia of crime has never before been witnessed. The Democratic Party is entitled to make an issue of honest government in the interest of the public. (Applause.)

The bombastic boast of the chairman of the Kansas City convention and the stupefying verbosity and reckless perversion of the Republican platform in the declaration that the foreign policies of the Harding and Coolidge administrations are characterized by confusion and inconsistency—the confusion resulting from ignorance, the inconsistency originating in moral irresponsibility. (Applause.) In what other way can be explained the agreement not to fortify our possessions in the Pacific Ocean, the destruction of new battleships in the name of disarmament and the immediate building of inferior types of vessels? How can be accounted for the whitewashing of corruption in high places, the sale of the machinery of the Republican Party to the pampered beneficiaries of corrupt bargains with unfaithful cabinet officers? (Applause.)

The foreign policy of President Wilson's administrations was decisive. It commanded respect and honor for the United States throughout the world. (Applause.) It contemplated co-operation with other powers in the promotion of international peace and in the avoidance of war. Who can define, who can comprehend the foreign policy of either the Harding or the Coolidge administration? What is the position now of the United States in the opinion of mankind? What is their attitude with respect to great international problems? Our government is unpopular; our flag is regarded with suspicion and contempt. Nothing has been done, and little is promised that contemplates the promotion of friendly and intimate relations with other peoples. In Wilson's time, the United States led the world on all of the highways of human progress, our flag was a symbol of glory wherever uplifted into light. (Applause.)

Prompted by the malice or the ignorance of his immediate officers, President Harding abandoned that leadership and President Coolidge does not choose to attempt its resumption.

There are too many subjects of vital interest, about which Democrats agree, to justify breaking up over questions about which there have always been differences of opinion. (Applause.) Prompted solely by the desire to promote harmony and concerted action, I respectfully suggest that it is my opinion that no wet plank should be incorporated in our platform. (Applause.) The Democratic Party is not a prohibition party, and neither is it an anti-prohibition party. Many people believe that prohibition is an economic and moral measure. Others believe that it invites and encourages lawlessness, and they advocate substantial changes in the laws and Constitution. The fear that this convention may attempt to commit the party to a wet platform has alarmed many Democrats, particularly southern Democrats, who favor the continuance of prohibition because of the evidence of its value in the social and economic progress of the country.

Democrats are united for the suppressing of corruption and for honesty in governmental affairs. We stand as one in favor of the enforcement, in good faith, of the Constitution and all laws. (Applause.) We stand for the protection of honest business men against the unfair and oppressive methods of monopoly. We favor relief, too long delayed, for the great agricultural interests of the nation, to which the Republican Party has brought only bankruptcy and ruin. Respecting these important subjects there should be no division among Democrats.

We of the South are happy to have this national convention assemble in this beautiful, typically warm, southern city. (Applause.) It has been said that Democrats may be relied upon to offset the blunders and heal the self-inflicted wounds of the Republican Party. Let us here disappoint the expectation of our adversaries and realize the dreams and hopes of millions of faithful Democrats throughout this nation who look to us for the exercise of prudence and wisdom. (Applause.)

We must demonstrate willingness to enter into honorable compromises and to make personal sacrifices. In no other way can the best interests of this nation and the Democratic Party be promoted. Jefferson gloried in the Virginia statute of religious freedom. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.) He rejoiced in the provision of the Constitution that declares no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for office of trust in the United States. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising and parading, bearing the standards of various states.)

When this convention has performed its tasks, nominated its candidates and adopted its platform, let us advance with measured tread and irresistible energy and force the overthrow of

the forces which have corrupted and which are dominating this great government. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, the chair asks your assistance in the orderly conduct of the business of this body. When an adjournment is taken today, we will meet back here promptly and the business of the convention will proceed at the hour to which we have adjourned. (Applause.) We have much business to attend to, and it is respectfully requested that delegates and their guests observe the sound of the gavel. I thank you. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT READING CLERK: The chairman of the Utah State Committee now presents a gavel to Chairman Robinson. Mr. Delbert M. Draper. (Applause.)

MR. DELBERT M. DRAPER (of Utah): Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The state of Utah greets you. The Utah delegation has especial pleasure in visiting the state of Texas, for the reason that the pioneers of Utah, in their memorable trek westward in 1846, sent 500 able-bodied men into Mexican territory to help carve out the Republic of Texas. Utah then was wild, barren, Mexican territory, but we rejoice with Texas today because we are now sister states in the Union of the Stars and Stripes.

Utah is developing a civilization for which no one need apologize. Utah has natural beauty which the world is coming to see. Utah has wealth buried in her towering mountains which, eventually, will enrich every state in the Union. As a symbol of our good will and as a memento to this memorable occasion, the Utah delegation has taken from the Utah hills a pound of copper as pure as Inca's gold and has fashioned it into a gleaming gavel, which we now present to the permanent chairman of this convention to become his permanent property. Mr. Chairman, let its golden heart beat in unison with the heart throbs of this convention now about to usher in a better day for America. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT READING CLERK: Mr. James P. Fogarty of the Pennsylvania delegation will now make a presentation of a gavel to Chairman Robinson.

MR. JAMES P. FOGARTY (of Pennsylvania): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I have been commissioned by the delegation from the state of Pennsylvania to tender to you, as presiding officer of this great convention, this symbol of your office as a memento of your service here—a gavel made of anthracite coal, the leading industry of our great commonwealth. It is fashioned in an ornate manner, we believe, inlaid with sulphur diamonds peculiar to this most useful mineral which for a cen-

tury past has been mined and prepared in our state and still furnishes heat and power for the use and comfort of the people of our beloved country and the world.

Delegate Andrew Breslin of the thirtieth district, the inspiration of this testimonial, assures us that the piece of anthracite from which this gavel was formed was mined near the spot where coal was first discovered in this country.

Pennsylvania tenders this testimonial to you, sir, with the supreme and abiding confidence that the deliberations of this great convention, over which you are to preside, will lead to the nomination of a candidate who will be triumphantly elected next November; whose administration will not only re-establish honest government in the nation, but will re-establish prosperity and happiness throughout the land for the benefit of all the people.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair expresses thanks to the delegate from Utah and to the delegate from Pennsylvania.

The Honorable Newt A. Morris of Georgia, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, is recognized.

MR. NEWT A. MORRIS (of Georgia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: As chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business and in behalf of this committee, I desire to make the following report:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

"Your committee reports and moves that the following be adopted as the order of business:

"That the rules of the last Democratic National Convention, including the two-thirds rule for the nomination of candidates for the office of President and Vice-President, and including the rules of the House of Representatives of the Seventieth Congress, so far as applicable, be the rules of this convention: Provided, that no delegate shall occupy the floor in debate for more than thirty minutes, except by unanimous consent of the convention.

"The order of business which your committee recommends is as follows:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.
3. Ratification of list of members of the Democratic National Committee: Provided, that all contests as to membership of the national committee shall be referred to the incoming national committee, with full power to decide such contests.
4. Presentation of candidates for President of the United States.
5. Report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

"6. Selection of a candidate for President of the United States.

"7. Presentation and selection of a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

"8. Motions.

"9. Resolutions.

"10. Adjournment.

"Resolved, further, That all seconding speeches shall be limited to five minutes, and made on the roll of states."

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that it is the wish of the committee that all nominating speeches, presentations of candidates, and all speeches seconding nominations, that those making the speeches be called to the speaker's stand, so that they may be heard by the delegates in the convention. (Applause.)

I desire, as chairman of this committee, to call attention specially to one feature of this report, as great interest centers on the adoption of the platform of this convention. You will note that, while it is true that candidates may be presented ahead of the adoption of the platform, the platform itself shall be in order and shall be disposed of in advance of the actual vote on the candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, as I have read it to this convention.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the delegate from Illinois, the Honorable J. Hamilton Lewis.

MR. J. HAMILTON LEWIS (of Illinois): I am requested by the Honorable George Brennan, chairman of the Illinois delegation, to present a resolution upon the method of electing members of the National Democratic Committee, their terms, and how vacancies are filled. The committee, having this subject for jurisdiction, present the resolution, as follows:

**RESOLUTION ON METHOD OF ELECTING MEMBERS OF  
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, THEIR  
TERMS, AND HOW VACANCIES ARE FILLED**

"Resolved, That the national committee shall consist of one man and one woman from each state, district and territory, the members of said committee to be selected in the manner prescribed by the laws of the respective states and territories; and where there be no statutory provision, that method of selection shall be pursued which conforms to the established party customs and precedents, or to the regularly adopted party rules and regulations. All such selections shall be acted upon by the Democratic National

Convention, and the members of the committee whose selection is ratified and confirmed shall hold office until the adjournment of the next succeeding national convention, or until their successors shall be chosen. Where a vacancy occurs, the vacancy shall be filled by the state, territory or district committee."

Mr. Chairman, I have the honor to move the immediate adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The reading secretary will call the roll of states for the selection of national committeemen and committeewomen.

The reading secretary then called the roll of states for the selection of national committeemen and committeewomen. When the state of Oregon was reached, the following proceedings were had:

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair is advised that Oregon has not submitted its names.

MR. DANIEL J. FRY (of Oregon): The Oregon delegation has not yet decided. Oregon will report later.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Oregon will be passed.

The reading secretary then completed the call of the roll of states for the selection of national committeemen and national committeewomen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: The delegate from Kentucky (Mr. Urey Woodson) has a motion.

MR. UREY WOODSON (of Kentucky): Mr. Chairman, I wish to offer the following resolution: Resolved, that the nominations that have been read for national committeemen and national committeewomen be ratified and confirmed by this convention.

The resolution was seconded.

MR. J. HORNER DAVIS (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: To what purpose does the gentleman rise?

MR. J. HORNER DAVIS: To protest against the manner of election of the committeeman and committeewoman from the state of West Virginia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegate from West Virginia offers a protest against the manner in which the committeeman and committeewoman from West Virginia were selected. The chair has no knowledge of the manner in which the selection was made, and as the gentleman offers no motion, the question is on the resolution of the delegate from Kentucky.

MR. HARRY H. BYRER (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman, I want to make a motion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair is unable to hear the delegate.

MR. HARRY H. BYRER (of West Virginia): My motion is that this contest be referred to the incoming committee.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair will inform the gentleman that under the resolution already agreed to, his motion has been provided for, and it will be referred to the incoming committee.

MR. H. H. SCHWARTZ (of Wyoming): Mrs. Nellie Ross of Wyoming is the national committeewoman for Wyoming, according to the vote of the Democratic state convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Has her name been reported to the secretary?

MR. H. H. SCHWARTZ: Her name has been reported to the secretary. I was chairman of that convention and I mailed it in.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Wyoming protests the appointment of Mrs. J. C. O'Mahoney, who has been reported to the secretary, and under the rule heretofore adopted, the protest will be referred to the committee. Are there further corrections? The chair hears none. Now, the question is on the resolution of the delegate from Kentucky.

MR. R. W. HAGOOD (of Oregon): In the matter of the state of Oregon, Oswald West was elected by the Democrats of that state in 1926, to take effect immediately after the adjournment of this convention. His credentials have been forwarded to the chairman of the national committee, and also a copy of those credentials were filed yesterday with the chairman of the committee.

MR. DANIEL J. FRY (of Oregon): Mr. Chairman, the delegates from Oregon will decide the matter of our member on the national committee this afternoon.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Very well.

MR. R. W. HAGOOD: The delegation has nothing to do with it.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The question is on the resolution of the gentleman from Kentucky.

The question was taken and the resolution adopted.

#### NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN AND COMMITTEEWOMEN Alabama—

Committeeman, Watt T. Brown.

Committeewoman, Mrs. Charles J. Sharp.

#### Arizona—

Committeeman, Dr. Clarence Gunter.

Committeewoman, Mrs. John C. Greenway.



Marceau Studios

**COLONEL HERBERT H. LEHMAN**  
Financial Director Democratic National Committee



**Arkansas—**

Committeeman, Vincent M. Miles.  
Committeewoman, Miss Alice Cordell.

**California—**

Committeeman, Isidore B. Dockweiler.  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.

**Colorado—**

Committeeman, George A. Collins.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee.

**Connecticut—**

Committeeman, Thomas J. Spellacy.  
Committeewoman, Lillian S. Abbott.

**Delaware—**

Committeeman, Andrew C. Gray.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. John R. Eskridge.

**Florida—**

Committeeman, J. T. G. Crawford.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner.

**Georgia—**

Committeeman, Major John S. Cohen.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Edgar Alexander.

**Idaho—**

Committeeman, Asher B. Wilson.  
Committeewoman, Teresa M. Graham.

**Illinois—**

Committeeman, George E. Brennan.  
Committeewoman, Elizabeth A. Conkey.

**Indiana—**

Committeeman, Charles A. Greathouse.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs.

**Iowa—**

Committeeman, Dr. J. W. Reynolds.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Flora Etter.

**Kansas—**

Committeeman, Dudley Doolittle.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Florence Farley.

**Kentucky—**

Committeeman, J. E. Robinson.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. J. C. C. Mayo

**Louisiana—**

Committeeman, Col. Robert Ewing.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Stella Hamlin.

**Maine—**

Committeeman, D. J. McGillicuddy.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Helen C. Donahue.

**Maryland—**

Committeeman, Howard Bruce.  
Committeewoman, Elizabeth R. Menefee.

**Massachusetts—**

Committeeman, Edward W. Quinn.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Nellie Sullivan.

**Michigan—**

Committeeman, William A. Comstock.  
Committeewoman, Miss Evelyn Mershon.

**Minnesota—**

Committeeman, Joseph Wolf.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Stanley V. Hodge.

**Mississippi—**

Committeeman, Stone Deavours.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens.

**Missouri—**

Committeeman, Wm. T. Kemper.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Chas. B. Faris.

**Montana—**

Committeeman, J. Bruce Kremer.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.

**Nebraska—**

Committeeman, Arthur E. Mullen.  
Committeewoman, Dr. Jennie Callfas.

**Nevada—**

Committeeman, S. M. Pickett.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. S. T. Spann.

**New Hampshire—**

Committeeman, Robert Jackson.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.

**New Jersey—**

Committeeman, Frank Hague.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. J. J. Billington.

**New Mexico—**

Committeeman, R. H. Hanna.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Andrieus A. Jones.

**New York—**

Committeeman, Norman E. Mack.  
Committeewoman, Elizabeth Marbury.

## North Carolina—

Committeeman, F. M. Simmons.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Palmer Jerman.

## North Dakota—

Committeeman, J. Nelson Kelly.  
Committeewoman, Miss Nellie Doughtery.

## Ohio—

Committeeman, W. A. Julian.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Bernice Pyke.

## Oklahoma—

Committeeman, Scott Ferris.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. D. A. McDougal.

## Oregon—

Committeeman, —————.  
Committeewoman, —————.

## Pennsylvania—

Committeeman, Sedgwick Kistler.  
Committeewoman, Anna O'Dea Murphy.

## Rhode Island—

Committeeman, Patrick H. Quinn.  
Committeewoman, Jane A. Newton.

## South Carolina—

Committeeman, John G. Richards.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. L. H. Jennings.

## South Dakota—

Committeeman, W. W. Howes.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Anna Struble.

## Tennessee—

Committeeman, Benton McMillin.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Lyon Childress.

## Texas—

Committeeman, Jed C. Adams.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Clara Driscoll Sevier.

## Utah—

Committeeman, James H. Moyle.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. R. E. Allen.

## Vermont—

Committeeman, Frank H. Duffy.  
Committeewoman, Miss Mary P. Mahoney.

## Virginia—

Committeeman, Harry F. Byrd.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. R. C. Watts.

## Washington—

Committeeman, George F. Christensen.  
Committeewoman, Elizabeth D. Christian.

## West Virginia—

Committeeman, Herbert Fitzpatrick.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Rose M. Burchinal.

## Wisconsin—

Committeeman, John M. Callahan.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. James Carrigan.

## Wyoming—

Committeeman, Patrick J. Quealy.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross.

## Alaska—

Committeeman, J. J. Connors.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. Georgia Holzheimer.

## District of Columbia—

Committeeman, John F. Costello.  
Committeewoman, Florence J. Harriman.

## Hawaii—

Committeeman, John H. Wilson.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. L. L. McCandless.

## Philippine Islands—

Committeeman, Robert E. Manly.  
Committeewoman, Grace Westerhouse.

## Porto Rico—

Committeeman, Henry W. Dooley.  
Committeewoman, Jean Springstead Whittemore.

## Canal Zone—

Committeeman, Louis Townsley.  
Committeewoman, Mrs. L. O. Keen.

## Virgin Islands—

Committeeman, F. E. Jones.  
Committeewoman, \_\_\_\_\_.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: There are no announcements.  
The chair recognizes the Honorable James J. Walker, mayor of  
New York, to make a motion. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. JAMES J. WALKER (of New York): Mr. Chairman, I move  
that this convention do now recess until 7:15 p. m.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Without objection the motion  
will be agreed to. The chair hears no objection, and the conven-  
tion stands adjourned until 7:15 p. m. this day.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until 7:15 p. m., June 27, 1928.)

## SECOND SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 27, 1928,  
7:15 o'Clock P. M.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please be seated.

The Reverend G. T. Walsh of Houston, Texas, will deliver the invocation. The Reverend G. T. Walsh.

### INVOCATION BY REVEREND G. T. WALSH

RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR GEORGE T. WALSH (Pastor of the Church of the Annunciation, Houston, Texas): Oh, God, we are assembled tonight in Thy name; we want to be the upholders of those Democratic principles which are near and dear to the hearts of the masses.

We beg Thee give us the wisdom to see Thy gracious purpose in the workings and deliberations of this convention.

Bless us, that we may have the light to choose what is right and best for all concerned.

May our deliberations tend to the preservation of peace, the removing of the burdens weighing on the poor, and the promotion of national happiness. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Honorable Ralph F. Lozier of Missouri to offer a resolution.

MR. RALPH F. LOZIER (of Missouri): I have passed the resolution to the secretary and ask that it be read.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Missouri offers a resolution which the secretary will report.

THE READING SECRETARY (reading): "Resolved, That the Democratic National Committee is hereby authorized and directed to fix the time and place for holding the next national convention, and that the number of delegates for each state shall be twice the number of senators and representatives in the Congress, and the number of alternates shall equal the number of delegates.

"Provided, however, That each state may elect eight delegates-at-large and eight alternates-at-large with a voting power of one-half a vote for each delegate.

"The number of delegates and alternates for Alaska, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands shall be fixed by the Democratic National Committee. All states, territories and districts, except such as are governed by laws fixing the time for the election of delegates and alternates, shall certify the election of delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Committee at least fifteen days before

the Democratic National Convention in which the said delegates and alternates are to serve."

MR. GILCHRIST B. STOCKTON (of Florida): Mr. Chairman, I have a substitute.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Florida.

MR. GILCHRIST B. STOCKTON (of Florida): Mr. Chairman, I have a substitute motion for the motion presented, and I have delivered it to the parliamentarian.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will report the substitute motion proposed by the delegate from Florida.

THE READING SECRETARY (reading):

#### RESOLUTION

"Resolved, That the Democratic National Committee is hereby empowered and directed:

"1. To fix the time and place for holding the 1932 national convention.

"2. To issue the call for the said convention, in which representation shall be strictly limited in the matter of delegates and alternates, as follows:

"a. Two delegates-at-large with one vote each and two alternates for each United States senator and for each representative-at-large in Congress.

"b. Two delegates with one vote each and two alternates for each representative in Congress from districts which either elected a Democratic congressman or cast not less than 15,000 votes for a Democratic candidate for Congress in either of the last two preceding congressional elections.

"c. One additional delegate-at-large with one vote and one alternate from each state for every three votes, or major fraction thereof, cast in the electoral college for the Democratic nominee for President in the last preceding presidential election.

"d. Two delegates, with all privileges except the right to vote, and two alternates from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands.

"3. To notify the states that as the above reapportionment of delegates will remove the danger of the nomination for President and Vice-President of candidates not having the support of a majority of the party, the two-thirds rule may be safely abrogated by the 1932 national convention.

"Be It Further Resolved, That the Democratic National Committee is hereby denied the right to change the apportionment of delegates to the 1932 national convention as hereinabove set forth."

The question was taken on the substitute motion and the substitute motion was rejected.

The question was then taken on the original motion and resolution offered by the delegate from Missouri and was agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair now recognizes Honorable Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana to present a resolution touching the life and services of former Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall. The chair recognizes Mr. Greathouse of Indiana.

MR. CHARLES A. GREATHOUSE (of Indiana, reading):

"Whereas, The Honorable Thomas R. Marshall, formerly Vice-President of the United States, has departed to his eternal reward since the Democratic Party last convened in national convention, and

"Whereas, He was, during his incumbency of the governorship of Indiana and the vice-presidency of the United States, a man whom every Democrat revered and whom every citizen, regardless of partisan affiliations, loved and respected, and

"Whereas, He personified, in his personal and official acts, the simple homespun philosophy which we, as kindred human beings, associate with the life of the Master, therefore

"Be It Resolved, That the national Democratic Party, in convention here assembled, spread upon its records a resolution expressing our deep sorrow at the untimely passing of the venerable leader of the Hoosier Democracy, and great American citizen, and that we rise in silent tribute in testimony of our regard for his great service to this Republic."

The delegates rose and stood in silent prayer, while the band played "Nearer My God to Thee."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair now recognizes the Honorable Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, to present a eulogy touching the life and service of the late William Jennings Bryan. (Applause.)

MR. JOSEPHUS DANIELS (of North Carolina): Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention:

For the first time in thirty-two years a Democratic National Convention meets in which William Jennings Bryan is not present.

Three times candidate for the highest office in the gift of the American people with the imprimatur of our party, an influential and eloquent disciple of Jefferson and Jackson, it seems fitting that we should pause to do honor to one so long honored by the party and esteemed by the country.

Near the close of the memorable session of the convention at Madison Square Garden four years ago, in which he took a prominent part, Mr. Bryan said: "This is probably the last convention of my party to which I shall be a delegate." We meet today in fulfillment of that prophecy.

His most significant contributions to his countrymen fall in two

divisions. First, he left his indelible impress upon the Constitution of the United States, which, until his constructive leadership, had been unchanged since 1870.

He is entitled more than any man to the credit of securing the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments, which gave Congress authority to levy a tax on incomes and provided for the election of United States senators by the vote of the people. Of the other two amendments he had great influence in securing the submission of the eighteenth and is entitled to credit for valued advocacy of the nineteenth. All four insured reforms for which he had long been the most eloquent champion, and of the first two and the prohibition amendment he might well be called the father.

Second, the treaties of peace with thirty nations which he secured while secretary of state. Mr. Bryan had long cherished the hope that his country could lead in substituting arbitration for the arbitrament of war. His chief ambition in that great office was that he might be able to obtain such treaties with all the nations of the earth. He drafted the talk-it-over treaties, as they were popularly known, because they contained a provision that a year's time should be given for investigation of differences, during which time there should be no resort to hostilities. Treaties embodying that provision were made with thirty nations prior to the World War and the heart of the Covenant of Versailles is that there must be time for deliberation and accommodation of clashing views before the appeal to arms.

Five giant figures, who profoundly stirred their generation and yet did not reach their goal, stand out pre-eminent in the political life of America—Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Blaine and Bryan. No President elected held in larger measure the love of millions of their countrymen than these who were not called to the highest station. In nobility and majesty of utterance, the God-like Daniel stood first among these orators of renown. In clarity and logic Calhoun had no equal. In the fervid attachment to his fortunes, the friends of "the mill boy of the slashes" exhibited a devotion beyond compare, and when their idol was not chosen, they were "like Niobe, all tears." In personal magnetism and in the character of eloquence that reaches the crescendo, "the plumed knight" was incomparable in his generation. I will not say that the mantle of the eloquence of all or of any of that galaxy of eloquent leaders fell on the shoulders of the Commoner. Mantles of the earth are too delicately woven to pass from one leader to another. Only God can call an Elisha and endow him with the qualities of a departing Elijah. Moreover, except in Scripture, the mantle of yesterday is not fashioned for the vestments of tomorrow. When the voice that charmed millions is silenced, its music may be heard only in



MRS. EMILY NEWELL BLAIR

Former Vice-Chairman Democratic National Committee  
Organizer of Democratic Women's Clubs, and of the Women's  
National Democratic Club in Washington of which  
she is now President



diviner spheres. There is no entailment of the gifts of genius. Orators, like poets, are born. They can not be created to order and no mantle of eloquence can fall on one who would vainly cry out to the departing prophet: "The chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

Of all these five rarely gifted men who saw the presidency almost within their grasp, and then saw it pass to others, perhaps of lesser mould, only Bryan rose superior to the need of the pinnacle of office to do his greatest work. I do not mean that these would have lacked greatness without office. Greatness is not a thing of emplacement. But without the forum which office supplies, could either of these men for nearly a third of a century have held the high place from which no defeat could displace William Jennings Bryan? It is a suggestive inquiry, if nothing more.

Separate any noted leader from power—the ability to confer distinction, to offer rewards, to give preferment, to appoint to high station—and how many could be dominant or near-dominant figures from youth to death? Bryan, except for a brief period, never had office or had preferment to confer. He had no wealth with which to buy support. Contrary to the unjust aspersions, neither money nor the desire for money ever influenced his public or private actions. If men followed Bryan—and he received more votes for the presidency in 1896 than ever were cast before the women were enfranchised for any other unsuccessful candidate—and he held to the day of his death the affection of more people than any other American—it was because of the qualities he possessed and belief in the causes to which he gave himself. Nothing else.

To be sure, Bryan had a winning and attractive personality and a charm rare among men, but while individual attractiveness may and does win early admiration, it does not hold unless it is merely the introduction to beautiful qualities of heart and mind. These Bryan had in rare degree. Men agreed with him enthusiastically, they disagreed with him vigorously. His followers wanted to crown him. His enemies wanted to crucify him. Nobody was indifferent to him. That was true early and late, in college, in the Chicago convention, at Baltimore, in Washington, at Dayton. In whatever company Bryan was found, he had a personality that compelled attention. He was "as beautiful as Apollo," said Governor Stone of him. He was "as eloquent as Demosthenes," said Senator Blackburn. He was "as clear and lucid in his views and presentation of the rights of man as Jefferson," said Senator John W. Daniel. "He has all along had the steadfast vision of what it was that was the matter and he has, not any more than

Andrew Jackson did, not based his career upon calculation but has based it upon principle. When others were faint-hearted, Colonel Bryan carried the Democratic standard. He kept the fires burning which have heartened and encouraged the Democracy of the country," said Woodrow Wilson at the Jackson Day dinner in 1912.

I saw him at Chicago, after he had received the nomination in a way so remarkable that his fervid friends declared it providential, besought by party leaders to a course of expediency. He was thirty-six years old and with little experience in the national arena, though he had won distinction by his tariff speech in the House in March, 1892. A number of the most astute leaders of his party looked for a vice-presidential nominee who would furnish the sinews of war and make appeal to the more reactionary element. They sought Bryan's co-operation for such a nomination.

"How would you feel about nominating Mr. X for Vice-President?" he was asked. The man named was rich. He had sources of power which leaders felt would be needed in the campaign.

"How do I feel about running on the ticket with that man?" asked the young man, suddenly called to leadership. "I will tell you how I feel. He has no convictions. He does not believe in righteousness in politics. He belongs to the old school of reaction which must be unhorsed. If he should be named for Vice-President, I would go before the convention and decline the nomination. Placing him on the ticket would give the lie to all our high resolves." I do not pretend to be quoting his exact words. They were as exalted as his action was noble.

It was the daring of his audacity—this stripling—this amateur—reading a lecture on morals in politics to old and trained and, perhaps, somewhat disillusioned senators. At first they gasped at Bryan's rebuke of their "playing the game" by the customary standards. But they were under the influence of his righteousness and beauty and uplifting eloquence. A handsome figure, eyes flashing, whole being taut, under the spell of what he regarded a holy responsibility. Of course the name was dropped from consideration, and a man of worth, with little strength, nominated.

"That was magnificent," said one of the older statesmen in the conference as we left that rather historical caucus, "but it is not war, and politics is war."

Later when McKinley was inaugurated I met this senator in Washington. He recalled the incident. "I feared then the result," he said, "but, my God, what a Savonarola he looked as he stood there, consecrated in his heart with a passion to serve the common man!"

Of Bryan's appearance in the Chicago convention, John Clark

Ridpath declared: "The simple fact is that the unanswerable oration of William J. Bryan before the Chicago convention was one of the few inspired utterances of the human soul rising to a great occasion and pouring out the vehement river of truth. Bryan on that day was a chosen instrument."

Sixteen years after his Chicago speech, incomparably the most notable oration of world annals judged by its reception and the nomination that followed, older, supposedly less vibrant and vigorous, much of the music gone out of the voice that fascinated the Chicago multitude, Bryan won at Baltimore the most notable parliamentary victory in the history of political conventions. The stage was set for his undoing. The masters of politics welcomed the opportunity of unhorsing the man who would throw away victory by a visionary adherence to controverted issues. Nothing in the history of political conventions is comparable to the fiery eloquence, the militant dash, the defiance of his enemies, and the superb snatching of victory out of defeat in his Baltimore brilliant achievement. Almost single-handed in that convention he made possible the nomination of Wilson and insured its leadership of the scholar in politics in the crucial days of the World War, something for which the world will more and more feel its indebtedness. Woodrow Wilson's appraisement of Bryan at Baltimore was in these words: "By your stand there you have made yourself what would have seemed impossible—a bigger man than ever in the estimation of the people of the country."

From the June day in 1915, with sadness on his part and regret on the part of his colleagues, that Bryan resigned from the Wilson cabinet, Bryan turned his thought more toward questions relating to social reform, to peace and to religion than to politics. Ambition for office he had put behind him. Though he was a militant fighter in the San Francisco and New York conventions, the main recollection of him at San Francisco is his impassioned prohibition speech and at New York of his kneeling in prayer in the cold gray of the morning and praying for guidance in the deliberations of the Committee on Resolutions and the action of the convention.

"So guide and direct us in our work today," he prayed, "that the people of our party and our country and of the world may be the better for our coming together in this convention and in this committee."

Such a thing had never happened before. It was proof of the mellowing influence of the Christian faith that controlled and undergirded the Commoner. He spoke often in the 1920 campaign and with much old-time eloquence, but his heart was more in the upholding of the teachings of the Bible than in political victories.

If he had lived—who can tell?—the senatorial toga which was his ambition in early youth would probably have fallen on his shoulders, the gift of his adopted state. But in that forum, his passion for justice and peace and faith would have predominated over any advocacy of political doctrine or political advantage. How small are the gambles and rewards of politics compared with the worth of a human soul!

Who can measure Bryan's influence—today, tomorrow and all the tomorrows? I do not recall in my reading and experience quite so remarkable an incident of influence as that related at the impressive funeral of Mr. Bryan when he was laid to rest in Arlington. The pastor of the church, an old friend of Mr. Bryan, was unavoidably absent. The assistant who took his place was comparatively unknown and had had little touch with Bryan—no personal intimacy so far as the Bryans knew.

Prefacing his eulogy of the Commoner, Rev. Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo told of a day long gone when the Commoner had spoken of "The Value of an Ideal" to students in a midwestern college. His pleading for noble living—a life of service—stirred the five hundred collegians. It did more than that, said the preacher, it changed the whole course of the life of one of his hearers and caused him to enter the ministry. "I was that student," said the preacher with solemn sense of gratitude, as the recollection of his obligation to the dead man rushed in upon him and moved him. "Surely," he continued, "it is unique that as he lies here today among us I should bear witness to his influence in this solemn hour."

It was more than "unique." Was it not the evidence that Providence moves today among men?

If I sensed at all the spirit and ambition of my dead friend, I am sure that such testimony would have brought him greater happiness than life residence in the White House.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to present the following resolution:

"Whereas, Recognizing the long and distinguished service rendered to his party and to his country in the third of a century of his participation in the counsels of his party and in promoting the welfare of his countrymen by William Jennings Bryan, therefore be it

"Resolved, That this national convention hereby gives expression of its high appraisement of his inspiring leadership and large usefulness, and sends sincere sympathy to his wife, who was his true helpmeet in the causes for the common weal to which he consecrated his life, and

"Resolved, That this convention rejoices that a movement has

been set on foot to place a statue of Bryan in the national capital and assures the Bryan Memorial Committee of its sincere co-operation."

(The delegates rose and stood in silent prayer, while the band played "Rock of Ages.")

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Without objection, the resolutions first presented relating to the life and services of the Honorable Thomas R. Marshall will be agreed to. The chair hears no objection, and the resolutions are agreed to.

The question is on the resolutions relating to the life and services of the Honorable William Jennings Bryan. Without objection those resolutions will be agreed to. The chair hears no objection, and it is agreed to.

The delegate from Connecticut, Mr. Spellacy, presents a resolution which the secretary will report.

THE READING SECRETARY (reading):

RESOLUTION EMPOWERING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FILL ALL VACANCIES DUE TO DEATH OR DECLINATION OF ANY NOMINEE

"Resolved, That the Democratic National Committee be empowered to fill all vacancies, if any occur, by reason of the death or declination of any nominee of this convention."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The question is on agreeing to the resolution of the delegate from Connecticut.

The question was taken and the resolution agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Under the order of business heretofore adopted by the convention the secretary will now call the roll by states for the presentation of candidates for President. Nominating speeches, by order of the convention, have been limited to thirty minutes, and seconding speeches to five minutes. The secretary will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Alabama.

MR. A. H. CARMICHAEL (of Alabama): Mr. Chairman, Alabama yields to Georgia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Alabama yields to Georgia. The chair takes pleasure in presenting to the convention Judge Crisp of Georgia.

CHARLES R. CRISP OF GEORGIA PRESENTS WALTER F. GEORGE OF GEORGIA FOR NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

MR. CHARLES R. CRISP (of Georgia): Mr. Chairman, Delegates of the Convention: I crave your indulgence for a few words. Up to this hour no acknowledgment has been made of the cour-

teous address of welcome and the hospitality extended this Democratic host by the Democracy of Texas. (Applause.) Therefore, in behalf of the Democratic host here assembled I extend our grateful acknowledgment to the Democracy of Texas, to the city of Houston, to Honorable Jesse Jones, and all who have contributed to our pleasure since we have reached your beautiful city. (Applause.) In behalf of the Georgia Democrats I extend greeting to Texas. (Applause.) The histories of Georgia and Texas are closely interwoven. In your earliest history Georgia sent of the flower of her manhood, of the beauty, the grace, the virtue of her womanhood to help you establish your great Republic which finally resulted in the state of Texas. I am sure all will agree with me they have never seen more beautiful ladies than we have seen since we have been in Houston. (Applause.) And I am sure Georgia contributed to this. In the dark hours of your Republic a Georgian, Colonel Fannin, raised a battalion, and died at the massacre of Goliad. A Georgian woman made the flag of the Lone Star state that flew over the troops at Goliad.

Therefore, Texas and Georgia are closely connected, and Georgia hopes when your favorite son is withdrawn Texas will vote for the man I shall nominate. In behalf of Georgia I make grateful acknowledgment to Alabama for her courtesy in yielding to us. Georgia is proud of her sister state of Alabama, whose people have the same hopes, the same ideals, the same aspirations as Georgia, and in 1912, when Alabama had a favorite son, Georgia voted for him from first to last. (Applause.)

A political party entrusted with the affairs of state, to entitle itself to continue in power, must justify itself before the bar of the electorate upon moral grounds with common honesty and a faithful performance of the duties entrusted to it. Judged by this standard, the Republican Party has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. For seven years the Republican Party has been in charge of all branches of the government, and today millions of citizens, Democrats and high-principled Republicans alike, hang their heads in shame because of the sordid, base and wicked betrayal of public trust by high Republican officials, both state and federal. This corruption, this thievery, this debauchery of the electorate by the use of colossal sums of money—thank God, without a parallel in the history of our beloved country—has, in my judgment, aroused the public conscience to the point of bitter indignation against the party responsible for it.

Under the Republican rule we have in Washington today an all-powerful, domineering and dictatorial central government, which, through a swarm of federal agents, is sapping the life out of private initiative, and destroying local self-government. The

government today is assuming jurisdiction over the affairs of its citizens before birth and even after death. It is a government of bureaucracy run wild and carried to an absurdity. Departmental clerks in Washington, with no business acumen, and very little business experience, are dictating to great executives and private business men how they shall run their affairs, and no private business is free from their inquisitorial officiousness. Legislation in Washington is dictated largely by the special interests for their own private gain, and Washington and the capitol are infested with their lobbyists. Oh, how long will the American people serenely tolerate this condition? In my judgment, only until the November election, if this convention acts wisely.

Never in the history of our government has it been as imperative that Democrats be restored to power. Democracy and honesty in public office are synonymous. (Applause.) Democracy believes in property rights, but Democracy places human rights above materialism. Democracy abhors a government by bureaucracy and considers that government best which least interferes with private initiative and local self-government. Democracy is progressive and favors laws that promote the peace, the happiness and the prosperity and moral development of all our people without class discrimination. Democracy will not compromise with error. Ladies and gentlemen, since the birth of this nation there have been two great moral questions before our people. One of them, slavery. I am a southern man, and my forebears were slave owners, which was authorized under the law. Therefore, what I shall say is intended in no stricture or criticism of gentlemen of those long ago days. The party to which we belong and its predecessor, and the Republican Party for years prior to '60 endeavored to compromise that great moral question of slavery. In '60 the Republican Party assumed the responsibility, denounced slavery, took a bold stand on slavery. They did not compromise. They made the issue a moral question and would not compromise, and they won in the election, and from that time until now only two Democrats have occupied the White House, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, and history will record them as two of the greatest of all American Presidents. (Applause.) Today another moral question is before the American people, to-wit, prohibition. (Applause.) Prohibition is a moral question, and Democracy can not and must not compromise that moral issue. It may interest you to know that the state from which I hail long ago realized that the two things that had caused human beings the greatest suffering were slavery and liquor, and in the original charter obtained from King George slavery and the sale of liquor were prohibited. The gentleman I am going to nominate is in

favor of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act (applause), and will not compromise that great moral question. The gentleman that I shall nominate knows that under the Constitution of the United States the states have voluntarily surrendered to the federal government the right to regulate the sale of liquor, and he will not be in favor of redelegating to each state the question of selling it. (Applause.) He is not in favor of repealing the amendment or modifying the Volstead Act, except to strengthen it. (Applause.) Democracy, as I understand it, can not afford to compromise with error. It is better to be true to your ideals than to yield to expediency, even at the price of victory. (Applause.) It follows, therefore, that it is the duty of the party to choose as its standard bearer a man whose character and sympathy squares with these ideals. Our Southland, your Southland, offers such a one.

Since I have been in Houston I have heard two distinguished public men who know well the gentleman whom I shall nominate, say that if he lived up North he would be the nominee. Oh, my countrymen, full sixty-three years, almost the life of two generations, have passed since Appomattox. In the "length of days" between then and now, the North, the South, the East, the West have been welded into one. Together they have borne the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship, and together they have faced the common foe and fought and died to uphold the glory of this country. In the Spanish-American War, the Union soldiers, the Confederate soldiers, and the sons of both of those fought with equal patriotism and zeal for their common country. In the World War, when the call was made for soldiers, no section of the country responded more patriotically than the South, as the records of the war department will attest. In promotions for valor in battle, in the award of crosses of honor to the bravest of the brave, in the battlefields of France and Flanders, in the graves of our heroic dead, this great government made no sectional or dividing line or discrimination. In time of peace, in time of war, the South has been loyal and devoted to the great nation of which she is an inseparable part, and unwaveringly and unitedly devoted to the interests of the Democratic Party which you represent. The South believes she has been patient long enough. The South believes that the place of birth of a candidate should no longer be a bar to his nomination by our great party—a recognition long denied her. (Applause.) To whom can such an appeal be made with stronger reason or better grace than to a Democratic convention, which from its birth until now has always favored a spirit of fair play and tolerance, and whose councils have not been darkened by ill will and prejudice? The



Marceau Studios

**MRS. FLORENCE FARLEY**  
Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee



South makes no sectional demand. The South, in the councils of Democracy, earnestly and sincerely makes her plea for recognition and respectfully reminds the representatives of Democracy that when the flame of Democracy had grown dim elsewhere it only burned the brighter in the solid South. (Applause.)

Democratic Georgia covets the honor of naming the standard bearer of this convention. Georgia is Democratic and has always cast her vote for the Democratic nominee from the birth of the party up to now, and even during reconstruction days, under federal bayonets she voted the Democratic ticket. (Applause.) And Georgia will cast her electoral votes, in my judgment, for the nominee of this convention. (Applause.) Notwithstanding her loyalty to the party, only once before has the state of Georgia presented one of her citizens for the office of President, and that was in 1840, when William Henry Crawford, one of the ablest men of his day, was offered and defeated by a few votes.

In reviewing the nation's roll of statesmen, historians, jurists and poets, it will be remembered that Georgia stands in the forefront of the galaxy of states that have produced great men. (Applause.) No state has produced a greater historian than Alexander H. Stephens, nor greater orators than Benjamin H. Hill, Robert Toombs, and the "Peace-Maker," Henry Grady; a more intellectual ambassador to a foreign country than W. H. Crawford, the confidential adviser of Thomas Jefferson, our party's patron saint. Georgia has given the nation great men; she can also give it a great President.

The statesman whose name I shall present to you is a man fifty years old. Therefore, he came into public life after the passing of the passions and prejudices growing out of the Civil War, which, in the Providence of God, I pray may never be revived. Therefore, he possesses, without any bitterness, the depth of soul, the breadth of vision, the broadness of mind, and the integrity of intellect that would enable him to study all public questions that might come before him as President without prejudice, and decide only that which was best for the nation. If he should be called to the high office of President there would be no discrimination on his part in favor of anyone from any section, nor in favor of anyone, whether rich or poor, high or low, humble or exalted. Should he be President he will impartially discharge the duties of that great office and there will be no discrimination in favor of the classes against the masses. I present to you a man who fully measures up to the ideals of the party, a self-made man, one who by his own efforts obtained a college education, a man ruggedly honest, morally clean, of high ideals, of keen intellect, of culture and refinement, a sincere believer in the Constitu-

tion of the United States and its enforcement, a man of extraordinary ability. As a lawyer and jurist he is the equal of any man on the federal bench. As an orator he is the peer of any in the United States senate, our greatest debating forum. (Applause.) Though a young man in years, he has served Georgia with distinction, as district attorney, circuit judge, justice of the court of appeals, justice of the supreme court, and today honors the state as its junior United States senator. He has served on the foreign relations committee, and is familiar with international affairs. In every office he has held he has discharged the duty so as to add credit and honor to his name. He is an American of Americans, and his experience in the senate and on the bench preeminently qualify him for this great position.

Georgia's great commoner, Alexander H. Stephens, once said, "I fear nothing on earth, nothing above the earth, except to do wrong. The path of duty I shall ever endeavor to travel, fearing no evil and dreading no consequences." This may also be said of the illustrious Georgian whose name I shall now present to you, upon whose high and exalted personal and political character no breath of corruption has ever swept, and upon which no cloud of dishonor has ever fallen. Georgia presents to you as the man preeminently qualified for this nomination her junior senator, the Honorable Walter F. George. (Prolonged applause, delegates rising and parading.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will come to order. The secretary will resume the roll call of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: Arizona.

MR. HARRY V. BENE (of Arizona): Arizona yields to New York.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The state of Arizona yields to New York. (Prolonged applause, delegates rising.)

The delegates will take their seats. The convention will come to order.

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York is to present his candidate. I take pleasure in introducing the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT PRESENTS ALFRED E. SMITH  
OF NEW YORK FOR THE NOMINATION  
FOR PRESIDENT

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (of New York): Mr. Chairman and My Friends: I am very grateful to my old friends from Arizona for yielding to New York. (Applause.)

I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my party the nomination of the governor of the state of New York.

(Applause.) The faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness. (Applause.)

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. (Applause.) Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the state. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called "the pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of humanity." (Applause.)

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must, first of all, make sure that our nominee possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of the United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats. (Applause.)

What sort of President do we need today?

A man, I take it, who has four great qualifications, every one of them an essential to the office: First of all, leadership (applause), articulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle (applause); next, experience, not guessing, but knowledge, from long practice, of the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing (applause); then, honesty—the honesty that hates hypocrisy and can not live with concealment and deceit (applause), and last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest—a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have, once more, a government not just for the people, but by the people also. (Applause.)

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed these qualities as a great governor of a state has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the war between the states, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave us Grover Cleveland (applause), teaching in Albany that

public office is a public trust; Theodore Roosevelt (applause), preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all (applause), and Virginia and New Jersey gave to us and to the nation that pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson. (Prolonged applause.)

Let us measure our present governor by those standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained the present chief executive. I mean that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed measures of government reform. (Applause.)

His staunchest political adversaries concede the governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many-sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith. (Applause.)

During the past month alone, the Republican-controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. (Applause.) In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican state senate, whereas a friendly federal senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office—I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in

the theoretical side of their work, but able to give the highest administrative success to their task. The high standard of the appointees of the governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural, regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural sections than in the large communities of the state. (Applause.)

As one who served in the legislature of the state of which this governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamentals of political principle. (Applause.) The governor's study of the needs of his own state has given him deep insight into similar problems of other states and also of their application to the machinery and the needs of the federal government. In the last analysis, my friends, a matter of administrative reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvement of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta, or in Washington. (Applause.)

How well the people of his state have understood and approved the wise solution of these problems is best shown by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected, and again elected governor by huge majorities—in the hundreds of thousands—in a normally Republican state. (Applause.)

Now as to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that, while avoiding personal smirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of the honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights (applause), fearing no senatorial investigation; that honesty that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant; that honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse. (Applause.)

The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private probity in public places is so well understood by the voters of his state that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. (Applause.) This, I think, is a subject which need not be enlarged upon. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of official Albany with those of official Washington. (Applause.)

And now, last of all, and where the governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their governmental machinery, to take the engine apart and show the function of each wheel.

Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in government is the crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

In an era of the ready-made we must not accept ready-made government; in a day of high-powered advertising we must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. We do not want to change these united sovereign states of America into the "United States, Incorporated" (applause), with a limited and self-perpetuating board of directors and no voting power in the common stockholders. (Prolonged applause.)

This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to watchfulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogue, in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us out as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

And that hope lies in the personality of the new man at the wheel, and especially in his purpose to arouse the spirit of interest and the desire to participate.

The governor of the state of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved during these same eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in their government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind—the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality of soul which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people—the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest in his fellowmen. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mould who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and low estate. (Applause.) Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their

champion and makes them enthusiastically trust him with loyalty and love.

Our two greatest Presidents of modern times possessed this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what, above all else, made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about the happiness of the whole world, which will be the best remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. (Prolonged applause.) It is what is so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, a lack of which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations toward us. For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no chief executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace. (Applause.)

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our governor will make an "efficient" President (applause), but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding that I prophesy that he will also make a great President (applause), and because of this I further prophesy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity—a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream of a kindlier, happier civilization in the days to come. (Applause.)

If that vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material, a leader also who grasps and understands not only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wage-earner—the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of America. (Applause.)

America needs not only an administrator, but a leader—a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man but to offer him as

the surest leader to victory. (Prolonged applause.) To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is heroic. To sally forth to battle and win for our principles is something more than heroic. (Applause.) We offer one who has the will to win—who not only deserves success but commands it. Victory is his habit—the happy warrior, Alfred E. Smith.

(Prolonged applause, the delegates rising and parading with the banners of various states.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please return to their places. Let the standards return to their places promptly.

Let the secretary call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Arkansas.

MR. THOMAS B. PRYOR (of Arkansas): Mr. Chairman, the state of Arkansas takes pleasure in yielding to the state of Wyoming. It is always a pleasure to yield to the ladies.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair now has the pleasure of presenting to the convention former Governor Ross of Wyoming. (Prolonged applause.)

#### MRS. ROSS SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR SMITH

MRS. NELLIE TAYLOE Ross (of Wyoming): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am most grateful to the delegates from Arkansas, who have so graciously yielded to me.

As I look into this sea of faces, the thought that possesses me is how mighty a power for conquest awaits beneath this roof the directions of this convention. Twenty thousand men and women, representative of hundreds of thousands left behind in their homes, all holding allegiance to the lofty principles of the Democratic Party, and holding steadfastly to the belief that those principles, if applied to government, will advance the well being of all the people of the nation, without regard to group distinctions of any kind. Ten thousand hearts undaunted by reverses of past years and undismayed by the formidable battalions of the opposition now fast arraying themselves for battle against us.

The question that this day reverberates throughout the nation is, will the Democratic Party name one who can lead its forces to triumph over the hitherto superior numbers, organization and material resources of the opposition? Hundreds of thousands of Democrats from shore to shore are loudly proclaiming as with one voice that we have one such candidate, countless thousands of Republicans are conceding that we have one such candidate, and all the rest are mortally afraid that we have such a one in the Honorable Alfred Emanuel Smith, governor of the state of New York. (Applause.)



HONORABLE NELLIE TAYLOE ROSS  
Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee



How rare is our good fortune that there is available to us one whose invulnerability of character and preeminent ability have been so conspicuously demonstrated that he towers like a colossus among all the statesmen of his generation. How fortunate are we, too, that, combined with intrinsic worth, he possesses another qualification of like importance, and that is vote-getting strength (applause), for, be it remembered that though our candidate were endowed with all the ability and nobility and all the ornamental attributes also known to man, if he could not in an exceptional degree command the votes of the electorate, he would be useless for our purposes as a candidate. (Applause.)

The responsibility of this convention is to take the first effective step toward the restoration in our national government of those basic principles to which the Democratic Party has been immemorially dedicated.

To make that accomplishment sure we must nominate our strongest candidate. If we fail to do this, we shall fail in our obligation to the party that has delegated to us this power. We shall fail in our obligation to the country we love. How vain, then, our professions of faith, how futile our efforts now and in the weeks to come, unless we name as our leader one whose demonstrated strength promises victory—with the determination to stand unitedly behind him after he is nominated.

The governorship of New York is the most exalted and responsible position in the nation next to the presidency. Success in it has been regarded as something of an ultimate test of qualification for the supreme position in the gift of the people. During four successive terms, Governor Smith has made a record that has not only won the general acclaim of his own party, but that of illustrious and conservative leaders of the opposition.

Not three months ago Chief Justice Hughes publicly pronounced him an "expert in government, a master of the science of politics." So notable indeed has been his public service that his fame has spread over mountain and plain to the uttermost corners of this country, until the very name Al Smith has become a household word all over this nation. Repeatedly and truthfully it is said that Governor Smith has captured the imagination of the people. More, also, has he done—he has captured their hearts. The hearts of this democratic people respond with pride and admiration to the human appeal of this man, who by sheer force of character and native ability has overcome obstacles that to one of weaker mould would have been insurmountable. They glory not only in his having reached so commanding a position, but in the added vindication he has given to the theory of popular government by making so illustrious a record in that position.

On the sidelines men and women have been watching the masterly leadership he has displayed in coping with hostile legislatures, and the sincerity and fearlessness with which he faces and deals with public problems. And right now, in numbers that we can not estimate, they are awaiting their chance to register their applause on the sixth day of November. And before that day legions of people who until now have listened only to Governor Smith's enemies, will have informed themselves of the progressive reforms he has effected on behalf of all his constituents, rich and poor alike; of his humanitarian service on behalf of the unfortunate children of the city of New York and the afflicted wards of state and nation. They will have learned of his defense of the rights of women; of labor. They will have learned that he has done more to advance education in New York than any governor before ever has done, and they will add the weight of their influence and votes to widen the scope of his activities, so that all the people of this country may be the beneficiaries of his surpassing genius for statecraft.

The great masses of the people who have not surrendered utterly to materialism, but who are still jealous for the spiritual welfare of the nation will, I believe, rise to the sovereign power that is theirs, and rebuke corruption in high places through support of this public servant who has never been known to betray a public trust.

The secret of his hold upon the confidence and affections of the people of New York, those of all classes and parties, is the absolute sincerity that has characterized his twenty years of public service.

He is not a man lightly to give his word. He is known to say what he means and mean what he says. His is an honesty that gives assurance to the electorate of the nation that if he ever takes the oath of office as President of the United States it will remain to him a pledge inviolate to the last day of his service. To such a one the people may with safety commit the most serious public problems. They may and must now turn to him and his party as the only instrumentality through which they can see re-established in the national government those high principles for which our forefathers freely spent their life blood, and that constitute to us so priceless a heritage; the principles that dominated the administrations of Jefferson, Jackson and Woodrow Wilson.

I am confident that solidarity of purpose and effort on the part of the Democrats combined with the available support of the independent voters, will advance this consummation that we all devoutly wish. Therefore, I embrace the privilege accorded me, and in the name of the progressive Democrats of Wyoming I second

the nomination of him who richly deserves the highest honor at the hands of his party, and of the nation—the Honorable Alfred Emanuel Smith, governor of the state of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: California.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Honorable Thomas M. Hickey of California. (Applause.)

#### MR. HICKEY SECONDS GOVERNOR SMITH

MR. THOMAS M. HICKEY (of California): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: In this dramatic moment, when a glorious chapter in the history of our party is being written, as I behold this historic assembly gathered to voice the sentiment and justify the traditions of the Democratic Party, somehow I find myself looking out over the heads of these delegates, beyond these walls into the heart of the common man of this nation. (Applause.)

There he stands, no longer inarticulate, the man who has been pillaged of his rights, whose liberties have been trampled underfoot, whose confidence in government has been shaken (applause); there he stands, at the threshold of this convention, looking to us as his final hope; and there he has a right to stand. For he, alone, is our master. Back to him we must go in the campaign that is upon us. His confidence must be held, his faith in us must, here and now, be justified as he turns to us and asks us in the cause of gentle democracy to name as our candidate for the presidency one who will have the courage to deal in terms of body and soul with the issues that must be faced in this campaign. (Applause.) And rightly he turns to us, for the people of this nation, including intelligent, far-seeing representatives of law-abiding wealth, have neither interest nor hope in the result of the Republican convention. They realize that that body knows and serves its master. The name of the candidate there is a mere idle gesture, since it is always the same mechanism that controls. You may paint the pump, but that does not change the quality of the water. You may gild the pipe, but that will not vary the note of the organ. The hands may be the hands of Esau, but always the voice is the voice of Jacob. (Applause.)

No one questions who is the man that the people expect and wish this body to nominate. They wish one who came from them, and who has never ceased to be one of them. They wish one who was suckled at the breast of poverty, and has not lost the common touch; one whose career has been an inspiration to the lowliest

American youth; one who has never feared to deal frankly with the people; one who is not a wrecker, but a builder; one who believes in conserving what is good, but who most certainly believes also in mending what is wrong in American life and government (applause); one who, four times governor of an imperial state, and versed beyond any man in our public life in governmental affairs, forced through bitterly opposing legislatures the most humane legislation ever placed on the statute books of that state; one who is neither a demagogue given to unscrupulous criticism and denunciation, nor an obstructionist chanting outworn formulas and catchwords; one who does not hold either that whatever is is therefore right, or that whatever is is therefore wrong.

The plain people of the nation, whom this convention represents and without whom we are nothing, have, with a unanimity unequaled in the history of our party, emphatically made clear their will that this man should lead the onset in the approaching battle of human rights, and for economic and political freedom. They desire, through his candidacy, to overthrow the golden calf in the temple of government, to record their protest against intolerance, against a constant interference with their cherished liberties, against government by dishonest money, against government by a tyrannical bureaucracy, against government by charlatans and pharisees.

My friends, they plead with us that, in the execution of their will, ancient prejudices, long since expelled from every sphere of life but politics, and having no place in the deliberations of a great convention, be forever banished. They have seen the bitterness of civil war fade away, and a Confederate soldier become chief justice of the United States, a Virginian become President of this nation. (Applause.) They ask us, in the name of the God of Love, in whom we all trust, and by whom we shall each one day be judged, that we bear ever in mind our generous American aspiration, our traditional American ideal, that, through the years, every creature of all lands toiling up the long, hard Calvary of religious oppression and persecution, should find here the right to walk humbly with his God, according to the dictates of his own conscience. (Prolonged applause.)

They ask us, my friends, by our action here, to help realize that aspiration, to help sustain that ideal, the finest flowering of a free people.

This November a mighty electorate shall speak, and no man may misunderstand its meaning. In the words of Daniel Webster: "There is something greater than arbitrary power. Lightning and earthquakes are terrific, but the judgment of the people is more." A heavy judgment awaits the Republican Party. See to it

that we name the man who has the courage, the capacity and the indomitable will to execute that judgment.

Fifty-four years ago, in the city of New York, a fine mother, blessed with a gift of prophecy, named her son "Alfred Emanuel"—"Emanuel," which means "God with us"; and God has been with that man, who rose from the tenements of a city to the governorship of the Empire State, bringing to the service of the people who loved and trusted him those qualities of mind and heart which now, in the full fruition, fit him now for the presidency.

California, by her electoral vote in 1916, saved to the nation a great President, Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.) With deep reverence I mention his name. May his spirit here abide, and may his judgment guide the judgment of this convention.

With this prayer in her heart, California, with all her soul, seconds the nomination for President of the United States of a free man, with a free mind, fit and worthy to represent a free people, Alfred Emanuel Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will come to order. The chair desires to make a statement. There is a large number of speeches yet to be made. The chair requests speakers to take note of the limitation under the order of business, and requests the delegates to take note of the limitation on time.

The secretary will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Colorado.

MR. CHARLES D. VAIL (of Colorado): Colorado yields to Kentucky.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Colorado yields to Kentucky. The Honorable Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky.

#### SENATOR BARKLEY SECONDS GOVERNOR SMITH

MR. ALBEN W. BARKLEY (of Kentucky): Fellow Democrats: I am deeply grateful to the state of Colorado for the courtesy extended Kentucky. We assemble here on this auspicious day under the compulsion of a great responsibility. Behind us are the battle-fields of a century and a half of struggle for popular government and the rights of mankind. Before us stretch other fields on which other battles must be fought to preserve what we have won in the years that have gone.

Millions of men and women whose voices are never heard in public acclaim are looking to us to set a new light upon the hills, and to sound a new charge against the cynical and selfish betrayers whose only interest in government is to make of it a suction pump for the diversion into their own control of the fruits of the toil of other men.

For more than a century and a quarter the Democratic Party has stood between the people and their exploiters. It has stood against those whose only conception of government is colored and fashioned by the extent to which they may warp and twist to their own designs. It has never faltered in victory or defeat, in good or ill report. During no single period of its long and glorious history have the people ever been humiliated by the faithlessness of its doctrines or the perfidy of its leadership.

It has shunned temptations which others have sought. It has withstood evils to which others have succumbed. It has scourged from its presence diabolical influences which others have clasped to their bosom, and today the Democratic Party stands as the unchallenged and uncompromising champion of free popular government, of public and official decency, and a sacred regard for official responsibility. (Applause.)

In the past eight years we have witnessed in the United States of America the commission of a series of political crimes so nauseating and revolting as to make grand larceny sound like an announcement of a hymn or golden text at a Sunday school. (Applause.)

Thieves and bootleggers, chiefs of government bureaus and cabinet members have sat side by side in criminal courts of the country to answer to the charge of criminal conspiracy against the people and the laws of their country; and if every faithless and perfidious public servant who rose to the surface as a result of the Republican victory in 1920 were incarcerated in the prisons where they ought to be, the Congress would have to be called into extraordinary session to make another appropriation to enlarge the prisons of the United States. (Applause.)

For the cleansing of this Augean filth from the stables of our government the Democratic Party is the only hope. For the inauguration of an era of justice, and of economic fair play to all classes of the American people, the Democratic Party offers the only hope.

In the midst of such a conflict we enlist with a new fervor. Our faces are lighted with a new effulgence. We are inspired by a new confidence in the righteousness of our battle cry, not only, but by our faith in the ability and the integrity of our leadership. None of them are compelled to write their orders on the pages of a criminal indictment nor to pass them out through the bars of a federal penitentiary.

Whither, then, shall we march, and under whose banner? Shall we forget that the Democratic Party was born amidst conflict, was nurtured in the smoke and grime of battle, and that in any cause which it espouses it unfurls its flag and unsheathes its sword

unruffled and unafraid? With a background so romantic and inspiring, with conditions now so intolerable and indefensible, with prospects of service and of victory so alluring and inviting, it would be inexcusable folly, if not a gross betrayal, to divide our forces or dull the edge of our sword by useless reconnoitering in fields where there are no legitimate issues or to aim at decoys placed before us by skillful and designing trappers.

The people of America who sent us here want no blank cartridges fired at an imaginary enemy. They want the full force of our heaviest artillery leveled at those who have looted them and are looting them against the law and under the forms of law. They ask, and they have a right to demand, that our aim shall be fixed upon the enemies of honest government, and that we blow out of their political dugouts the impudent combination of corruption and arrogance parading now and then in the name of statesmanship, which has made faithful and trusting men and women wonder whether there is left anywhere a shred of honesty in the political life of the nation.

Who, my fellow Democrats, shall lead this army? Who shall march at the head of the advancing columns? Whose name and public achievements proclaim him as of the stature required by the exigencies of such a battle? From every section of the nation comes the suggestion of names worthy in every way by character and attainments from among whom only one can be selected. And already by a unanimity seldom paralleled in the long history of Democracy he seems almost to have been named without the formality of this convention. Already by a popular acclaim registered in terms incapable of misunderstanding the flag has been all but placed in the hands of one of the nation's outstanding executives, and it remains for us but to ratify the people's will by placing upon it the stamp of our approving action.

And if we shall fail, what shall be our alibi? What message shall we return to the millions of Democratic voters whose commission we bear?

Shall we say that this honor shall be withheld because he wears no scholastic degree from some historic seat of learning? Neither did Andrew Jackson.

Are we told that he has had no experience in national affairs and therefore ought not to be trusted with their direction? I answer that he has had four times the executive experience possessed by Grover Cleveland when nominated for President in 1884.

Are we told that he ought not to be nominated because his views upon the wisdom of the eighteenth amendment and the laws passed for its enforcement may not coincide at every point

with some of ours? I answer that neither did those of Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.)

Upon this subject I claim the right to speak in frankness. I voted for the submission of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution and for the laws thought necessary for its enforcement. Until I am convinced that there is some other and better way to deal with this question I shall adhere to the views which actuated me in my original attitude, recognizing the rights and the duty of other men to follow the course which their own conscience may dictate. But I would deem myself as hopelessly narrow and ungenerous if I should seek to make a divergence of opinion upon this question the test by which men or women otherwise qualified should be barred from the service of the nation in a crisis like that which confronts us today. (Applause.)

I have faith in the integrity and ultimate wisdom of the people, and that faith strengthens me in the belief that in their own way and in their own time they will solve this problem in the spirit of sanity to which experience may guide them.

But no honest man who realizes that law and its observance and enforcement are essential to the preservation of civilized government, or who appreciates the sanctity of an oath of office would be willing to do less than to exert his full strength and official power in the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States and the laws made necessary by its enactment. (Applause.) There is not a man in the Democratic Party eligible for the office of President whose views on this subject are so liberal that he would not make a more sincere, a more effective and a more successful effort to enforce the laws of the United States than we have seen in the past eight years under the Republican administrations of Harding and Coolidge. (Applause.)

I believe that every part of the American Constitution is equally sacred; and we can not with consistency or propriety emphasize one part and ignore another; and especially is it true that we who are followers of Thomas Jefferson, at whose instance it was placed in the Constitution, can not afford to ignore the letter or the spirit of that part of the Constitution which declares that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for office under the United States. (Applause.) Born and nurtured as I was in the lap of the Presbyterian church, in which my father is an elder, educated as I was in a denominational college in the state of Georgia, presided over by one of the great bishops of the Southern Methodist Church, of which I am a member, I am not ashamed to lift my feeble voice in behalf of the nomination of one who is not of my faith, but who has as much right to his as I have to mine. (Applause.)



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**SENATOR KEY PITTMAN**  
Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions of the  
Houston Convention



Shall we deny to this man the rights and the honor accorded to all Americans because he rose from humble circumstances and still speaks the language of humility? For a century we have glorified the log cabin in the politics of America as the nesting place of statesmanship. Shall we deny equal honor and equal credit to this man because in the Providence of God his infant eyes first opened upon the four walls of a tenement house in the heart of the nation's metropolis? (Applause.) To do so would belie all our generous professions in the name of humble birth.

In the name of the Democracy of Kentucky, whose commission I bear; that Kentucky which is Virginia's fairest daughter; that Kentucky whose soldiers, with those of Tennessee, made immortal the 8th day of January behind the cotton bales at New Orleans; that Kentucky from whose pioneer hills George Rogers Clark set out upon the marvelous exploits which saved the Northwest to the new republic; that Kentucky which gave to the South Jefferson Davis and to the North Abraham Lincoln; in the name of that commonwealth which bids her sister states to hoist the banner of a militant and united Democracy, I second the nomination of Alfred E. Smith, governor of the state of New York, to be President of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Just one more sentence. If on tonight or tomorrow we shall nominate him, the American people next November, in my humble judgment, will confirm and ratify that nomination in language that may be found in holy writ, where it says, "Inasmuch as thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many." (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE READING SECRETARY: Connecticut.

MR. WILLIAM E. THOMS (of Connecticut): Connecticut yields to Pennsylvania.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Connecticut yields to Pennsylvania. The chair recognizes with pleasure Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller of Pennsylvania.

MRS. EMMA GUFFEY MILLER OF PENNSYLVANIA  
SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF ALFRED E. SMITH

MRS. EMMA GUFFEY MILLER (of Pennsylvania): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Americans: Four years ago in our national convention in New York City I spoke against anyone who would infringe on the religious rights and liberties guaranteed us by the Constitution of the United States. (Applause.)

Today in Texas the need for such a plea no longer exists, for intolerance has become only the tool of the ignorant and bigotry

flourishes only among the unjust, and neither belongs in the Democratic Party. (Applause.)

The issue of the coming campaign is not personal; it can be briefly stated: Shall government be controlled by a few or shall it be administered for the benefit of all?

I come from the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania, proud of its historic past, but humiliated by its political present. (Applause.)

Pennsylvania: Founded by the liberal and gentle Quaker, William Penn; guided by the wise and skillful Franklin; immortalized by the Declaration of Independence; sanctified by the blood-stained footprints of the Continental soldiers at Valley Forge and consecrated by the thousands of youth who fell under two flags at Gettysburg, now notorious because of the corruption and power of its Republican machine. (Applause.) It is this Republican organization which has made law enforcement a mockery, representative government a by-word and turned faith in the ballot box into such dishonor that Pennsylvania now has but one representative in the senate of the United States. (Applause.)

And yet it is the masters of this machine who dictate and control the national candidates and policies of the Republican Party. (Applause.)

Their policies consider the desires of the commanders of great industries and the demands of huge corporations as superior to the needs and welfare of the average citizen.

Such policies have mortgaged the once prosperous farmer deep in his now unprofitable acres; have denied the laborer the right to organize; have controlled the starving miner by arrogant injunctions; have through threat held the wage earner and small business man cowed and subservient and have made of government an autocracy accountable to no one but a few Republican bosses.

In vain have the people of Pennsylvania and the nation looked to this Republican juggernaut for release from the oppression of unscrupulous wealth and the heavy mastery which it represents.

But we who are familiar with the absolute rule of this little group of selfish men are not without hope, for to the north we have watched with growing enthusiasm and profound confidence the career of a genuine Democrat.

A man sprung from the people, whose public record for more than twenty years has been devoted to their interests, whose understanding of the problems of the poor and the humble, whether they be on the farm, in the factory or the mine, is so comprehensive that he becomes at once their champion. This man of outstanding honesty, rare humanitarianism, acute business judgment and fine

sense of justice to high and low alike is Democracy's ideal candidate for President.

Nominate him and the country will prove its good sense, its tolerance and its patriotism by electing him, and once again will the United States have at its head a man whose interests will lie in the advancement of the entire people and the progress of the whole nation.

Then, and not until then, will government be given back to its citizens and the administration of government be in the hands of a President responsible only to the people.

Fellow Democrats: On behalf of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania I have the high honor to second the nomination for President of the United States of the illustrious son of New York, Governor Alfred E. Smith. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will proceed with the roll call.

THE READING SECRETARY: Delaware. (No response.) Florida.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair takes pleasure in presenting to the convention the Honorable Fred P. Cone of Florida.

#### FRED P. CONE OF FLORIDA SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF WALTER F. GEORGE

MR. FRED P. CONE (of Florida): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: It would be presumptuous indeed for me to come before a great body of people like you and tell you who you should nominate for the Democratic Party for President at this convention, but, my friends, this is the place where the humblest Democrat in all the land can come and place his claim for recognition and settle any differences that he may have.

My friends, I come from the very southeastern portion of this great country. I come from where we vote the Democratic ticket in June and in November. (Applause.) I come from away down on the banks of the old Suwannee River, where the orange blossoms grow, where the rich go for recreation and the tired and weary go to rest on account of its matchless climate. My friends, our politics is "Vote for the ticket in November and support and defend every section of our great Constitution." (Applause.) My friends, Florida has no candidate. Florida came up to this convention absolutely uninstructed, but her sister state of Georgia has presented to this convention her favorite son. Georgia presents him, my friends, not only on account of her Democracy, but because of his ability for this position. (Applause.) She has no claim on the Democracy on account of her voting the Democratic ticket or on account of her loyalty to the Democratic Party because, my friends, if that is a thing of party gratitude then I

think old Georgia, that has never cast a Republican vote in the electoral college of this country, is entitled to recognition. (Applause.) She cast three Democratic votes under the bayonets of Republican soldiers and she has proved her loyalty to the Democratic Party by her votes and loyalty to this country by the blood of her sons upon a hundred battlefields. And if there is such a thing, my friends, as Democratic loyalty or Democratic gratitude, we come to you to present old Georgia's claims on the Democratic Party.

Florida has no choice. Florida desires to second the nomination of Georgia's favorite son who has risen from a farmer's boy to one of the Democratic giants in the senate of the United States. (Applause.)

And I will say this, my friends, the southern people surrounding old Georgia, with her Democratic host, are going to come to this convention or the next convention and on and on until this great host of Democratic majority gets some recognition in our Democratic conventions. (Applause.)

I have said we will cast our votes in June and we will cast them in November, but, my friends, I want to give notice to the Democratic Party of this nation that the great southern Democracy has proclaimed her Democratic independence. (Applause.)

We are going to be here every four years demanding our Democratic rights. I appeal to you Democrats from all sections of the country. I want you to remember, fellow Democrats, that the Democratic Party was born in the Southland and when the balance of the nation deserted her in time of need and in time of stress, the great old people of Georgia, who present this Democratic son to you, sat around its sick bedside and nursed it back to life and made it once more a great, militant party of the people of this great country. (Applause.) My friends, I appeal to you again to give us some recognition in this great party that we have always stood by. We have never deserted her cause, and if you will turn the banner of this great party over to Georgia's worthy son she will return it to you four years from now unsullied and without a stain. (Applause.)

My friends, I again appeal to you to give this great host of Democrats that have stood by you in sunshine and rain, during pestilence and famine, at all times, the recognition they deserve. You can always count on southern Democracy in November as well as in June. (Applause.) I want to say by the unanimous vote of the delegates of the great state of Florida in caucus assembled, we take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Georgia's favorite son, Walter F. George, senator of the United States. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will proceed to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Idaho. (No response.) Illinois. (No response.) Indiana.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents Judge William H. O'Brien of Indiana.

WILLIAM H. O'BRIEN OF INDIANA PRESENTS EVANS  
WOOLLEN OF INDIANA FOR NOMINATION  
FOR PRESIDENT

MR. WILLIAM H. O'BRIEN (of Indiana): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The militant Democracy of Indiana enters this campaign aggressive and unafraid and will go all the way in support of the nominee of this convention, no matter what his name may be nor from what state he comes. (Applause.)

Indiana presents for the consideration of this convention as a candidate for President a son of its pioneers, trained in economics, in the law and in banking. Concerned with important business, yet living among farmers who have testified to his sympathetic knowledge of their problems, a proven vote-getter who proclaims effectively the Jeffersonian philosophy of government. Possessing all the qualifications requisite to the successful administration of this great office, Indiana offers a plain, every-day Democrat—Evans Woollen. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Iowa. (No response.) Kansas.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will now hear the Honorable George McGill of Kansas. (Applause.)

WILLIAM A. AYRES PLACED IN NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT BY MR. MCGILL OF KANSAS

MR. GEORGE MCGILL (of Kansas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Democracy of Kansas rejoices with this great gathering truly representative of the Democracy of the nation. In comparison with the utter lack of constructive statesmanship as evidenced by the administrations of the party of special privilege, with the bribery and corruption in high places during recent Republican administrations, with the brazen efforts to procure seats in the greatest deliberative body in the world, the senate of the United States, through huge campaign funds and the corrupting of the electorate, and in comparison with the unholy administration of government by a coterie of the representatives of so-called "big business," the Democracy of the nation

may well take pride in the full measure of service it has rendered the Republic.

In these days when organized stand-patism and organized wealth are in power it behooves those who are the true representatives of and who put their faith in the principles of simple Jeffersonian Democracy to assert themselves in no uncertain terms to the end that this government may be returned to the principles on which it was founded—principles which embrace a free, untrammeled, representative government.

Since the days of Lorimer and Newberry our citizenry have had just cause to fear the perpetuity of free representative government, notwithstanding that when confronted with the facts a small portion of the Republicans in the senate aided our Democratic brethren there in denying to such men as Smith of Illinois and Vare of Pennsylvania seats in that august body.

Corruption has vaunted itself in the face of the American people and the examples of men who, as members of a President's cabinet, and of others in positions of authority participating in corrupt practices is revolting to the mind of an honest man or woman and of a liberty-loving American. A return to honesty in government, instead of normalcy, is a paramount issue in this country. No one thing is more dangerous to the perpetuity of free government than dishonesty among high governmental officials and the power to corrupt them. History affords an example in venal Rome and we must avoid that character of political degeneracy which brought about her fall.

Good government is a thing inherited by us from our forefathers. No greater students who possessed like knowledge of the science of government have lived than those who formulated our constitutional representative government. With the exception of the tenets of religion promulgated to the children of men by the Carpenter of Nazareth, they formulated policies the most beneficial to mankind thus far known to man, and as a nation we should never grow too old or regard ourselves too far advanced to revere those pioneers in American history and American government, and the only way to reinstate and maintain the high standards set by them is to return the control of the government to the party so truly representative of the underlying principles from which our fundamental laws were evolved, the party of the plain people of this country, the Democracy of the nation.

The people will recognize the Democratic Party as the party which has, throughout the history of the nation, been the champion of the rights of the most humble citizen, as the champion of the rights of the many as against those claimed by a privileged few, as the champion of simplicity in government, as the champion

of popular government and as unalterably opposed to the centralization of power, as the champion of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of religion—the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience, as the party opposed to the granting of special privilege in any form and to a tariff system fostered by the Republican Party, which is the parent of all special privilege.

During the Republican regime efficiency has given way to graft, special privileges have been on the auction block, the spirit of materialism has had full sway, national resources looted, elections debauched in a shameful manner, and the so-called captains of industry have been in the saddle demanding and receiving special privileges by openly flaunting the agencies of government which have been set up for the protection of the people. A protective tariff system has been in vogue which permits the protected industries to levy a tribute on the American consumer, a burden which rests with special force upon the farming industry, already burdened to the limit with excessive taxes. The unreasonable schedules of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law, the most pernicious legislation ever foisted on the American people, sponsored and defended by Republican leaders, not only wrongs the consuming public but closes the doors of international trade. The Republican leaders contend there is no agrarian problem. My fellow delegates, so long as the Fordney-McCumber tariff law and the Esch-Cummins railroad law are in force in this country we will continually have a farm problem in which the agriculturists of our country will clamor for some sort of legislation to relieve them from the dilemma in which they find themselves caused directly by such laws. Republican claims of prosperity are a delusion and a snare, pernicious propaganda with no foundation in fact. With what sincerity can these claims of prosperity be made when from six to eight millions of our people are unemployed and while a drift of another million of our population go every year from unprofitable farms to the cities, thus increasing the number of unemployed? Let us contrast this record of inefficiency with the record of the administrations of that great statesman and Democratic leader, Woodrow Wilson, during which the country enjoyed a record of eight years of constructive achievement and national prosperity such as has not been excelled in any like period of American history. Nominate men truly representative of Democratic principles and who, by the aid of the party, will unflinchingly carry them to the electorate, and victory will be ours.

We of the Sunflower State—Kansas—feel sure that there is no sectional question involved, that the time has come when a President should be selected by reason of who he is and what he stands

for and not by reason of where he is from; that the time has come when the Democrats of the North, the East, the West, the Midwest and of the South can and do meet on common ground and stand in unison for the simple principles of genuine Jeffersonian Democracy.

Some will say that Kansas is a Republican state. Ah, ladies and gentlemen, we were long in the wilderness but, filled with the hopes of a free people, we are just as surely coming out. In the last eight presidential elections the people of Kansas have delivered the electorate vote of that state to the Democratic candidate for President and Vice-President four times, and in 1916 Kansas was one among the many western and midwestern states which, in conjunction with the southern states, held the banner of Democracy aloft and re-elected Woodrow Wilson. Some will contend a candidate should not come from a western or midwestern state, but let me remind you that when Andrew Jackson was chosen President he came from what was then a western state and was chosen at a time when the people were looking for reform and for a return to the principles of government promulgated and heralded to the world by our forefathers. Neither patriotism nor statesmanship is sectional. The great come from the vast agricultural sections of the midwest and the west, the same as from other parts of our common country. Some say we should nominate an outstanding Democrat. The man we intend to propose is one of the most outstanding Democrats of the day. He is a man of such extraordinary ability, statesmanship and integrity as to measure up to the highest position within the gift of the American people. He is a man whose training and experience equip him for the proper interpretation and solution of governmental problems. He is a man who understands and whose sympathy is with the viewpoint of the people in all walks of life and who possesses the courage to stand by them. He is a man of unusual constructive statesmanship and ability, of strict integrity, a student of the economic problems of the day and who possesses a mind fair to all. He came of common stock, he was born in Illinois, reared on a Kansas farm and educated in the schools and colleges of Kansas. He has served six terms in Congress, is a statesman of high standing, clear vision, high ideals, and is a stalwart exponent of Jeffersonian Democracy, an uncompromising friend of the plain people—one whose labors have justified the confidence reposed in him by his constituency, a man whose sympathies are with the masses of mankind—Congressman William A. Ayres of Kansas. His candidacy is not of his own making but is the outgrowth of the sentiments of his many friends in the state of his adoption. Four years ago, in the pre-convention campaign, he was suggested



Edmonston

**SENATOR PETER GOELET GERRY**

Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Democratic  
National Committee



as presidential timber by the late great leader of Democracy, W. J. Bryan, and by numerous publications and other men of note. (Applause.) People of all classes of the eighth Kansas congressional district have demonstrated their faith in William A. Ayres by electing him to the national Congress six times with majorities ranging from 14,000 to 18,000 and the people of Kansas are solidly behind him for President.

By reason of a friendship extending over a quarter of a century, of our knowledge of the man and his ability, his loyalty to Democratic principles, his statesmanship and courage, and speaking pursuant to directions contained in a resolution unanimously adopted by the Democratic state convention of his state, I nominate the Honorable William A. Ayres of Kansas for President of the United States. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair has an announcement to make. We have one more brief address for this evening. (Applause.)

The secretary will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Louisiana.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair takes pleasure in presenting to the convention Mrs. Stella A. Hamlin of New Orleans. (Applause.)

#### MRS. HAMLIN SECONDS GOVERNOR SMITH

MRS. STELLA HAMLIN (of New Orleans): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen and Fellow Democrats: This is a mighty convention of a mighty party composed of splendid men and women gathered from every part of the nation wherever Old Glory floats, to nominate a standard bearer for the great Democratic Party of these United States of America. And I appreciate more than mere words can tell the great honor and privilege accorded me by my fellow Democrats of the great sovereign state of Louisiana to come upon this rostrum and second the nomination on behalf of Louisiana's entire delegation, and the Democracy of our state of an outstanding American citizen.

In looking about and over this vast domain of our country for a presidential candidate for the Democratic Party care and caution must at all times be had because the Democratic Party must put forward its best candidate, its best citizen, its best statesman, one who has a record of achievements and accomplishments, and must, by reason of those achievements and accomplishments, attract the admiration and win the votes of the people of this country.

Our candidate must have intrinsic worth to aspire and to reach the high position of President of this Republic. We of

Louisiana have studied the situation. We have in mind a man who we believe would re-establish the undying and ever-progressive principles of Jefferson, Jackson and Wilson, and we know who that candidate should be to wrest control from the political organization that now engulfs it, and re-establish our government as an honest and efficient government.

The Republican Party has flaunted in the faces of the people of America flagrant corruption in high places. The Democratic candidate should be a man of such sterling worth as to guarantee to the people of America that this practice shall be put an end to.

In quest of a candidate of rare ability and possessing the confidence of the people of America our eyes are turned towards the great state of New York, and we find there a governor with outstanding qualifications of character, possessing a rare genius for statecraft and with a brilliant unequaled and unexcelled record through four successive terms as the chief executive of the great state. A man who has endeared himself to the people, not only of his state, but likewise to the people of these United States. A man whose name is a household word in America, and who has the personality to win the respect and admiration of all who know him and are familiar with his many accomplishments.

Humble birth, obscurity and the many handicaps that attend chill penury were surmounted by this great governor of New York, and today the heart of a great Democracy goes out to a man who through sheer force, character and native ability overcame these obstacles and established himself as the leader of great people.

We people of the South know what we mean when we say it, and do not hesitate to proclaim it. The forces of Democracy will give him a great victory at the polls in November next, and Democracy's victory will be achieved because of the mighty leader it will nominate for President today. Democracy's victory will be chronicled throughout the world because of the fact that there will be nominated here today as the standard bearer of our party that peerless American citizen, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York.

Therefore, in behalf of the Democracy of the great state of Louisiana and with a pledge here made to give our best effort to bring about his election, I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of that natural administrator, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary has some announcements to make.

THE READING SECRETARY: Delegates, alternates, visitors to the Democratic convention, and all the people in Houston who believe in prohibition as a national policy and in rigid law enforcement

are invited to attend a mass meeting at the First Baptist Church, diagonally opposite the Lamar Hotel, Thursday morning, the 28th, one hour before the convention assembles. Governor Moody and others will be present and speak.

All Democratic ex-service men will meet in the Elks' Club immediately after the adjournment of this session of the convention.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the Honorable George Gordon Battle of New York.

MR. GEORGE GORDON BATTLE (of New York): I move that this convention now adjourn until tomorrow morning at half past ten.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

## Third Day

### FIRST SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 28, 1928,  
10:30 o'Clock A. M.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will please come to order. The delegates will please be seated. The Reverend A. Frank Smith, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Houston, Texas, will deliver the invocation.

THE REVEREND A. FRANK SMITH: Almighty God, Creator of all men, the Giver of every spiritual gift, the Author of everlasting life, we invoke Thy presence with us, and Thy benediction upon us as we enter upon the deliberations of this hour. Not because of empty form, but rather in humble acknowledgment of our dependence upon Thee, and of our need for Thy guidance, do we wait reverently before Thee just now.

May the men and women composing this great convention never lose sight of the fact that they are here in a representative capacity, and that the welfare of millions of their fellow men is to be vitally affected by their deliberations and conclusions. And may this sense of stewardship impress them with the solemnity of this occasion, and free them from personal or selfish thought and motive.

We pray Thy continued blessing upon this land of ours, and may we so conduct ourselves and the affairs of this nation that we shall not only merit, but compel, the respect, the admiration, the affection of all peoples, and the confidence of Almighty God Himself.

To this end we consecrate ourselves, not only here and now, but through all the days to come. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will make an announcement.

THE READING SECRETARY: The gavel to be used by the chairman of this convention today is the property of Mr. W. H. Smith of Jefferson, Georgia, and was made from the mulberry tree under which Dr. Crawford W. Long performed the first operation in which ether was used. Dr. Long was the discoverer of this anesthetic which has been so valuable to the world of mankind. Georgia has furnished a statue of Dr. Long, which has been placed in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol at Washington, D. C.

This gavel is presented to Chairman Robinson through the courtesy of Honorable Thomas M. Bell, member of Congress from Georgia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair accepts with appreciation the gift of his friend, the Honorable Thomas M. Bell of Georgia.

Evidenced by certificate which I hold in my hand, a clerical error has been made in the name of the national committeewoman for the state of Wyoming. The chairman of the Wyoming delegation, who is on the platform for the delegation, requests unanimous consent that the error be corrected and that the name of Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross be substituted for the name of Mrs. Joseph C. O'Mahoney. Without objection, the request will be granted. The chair hears no objection and the request is granted.

The chair requests the chairmen of the various delegations who have speakers to be heard this morning to send the names of the speakers, with the state for which they speak, to the platform as promptly as possible. This will avoid both confusion and delay.

The secretary will proceed with the call of the roll of states for the nomination of the candidate for President of the United States.

THE READING SECRETARY: The state of Maine. (No response.) Maryland.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair takes pleasure in presenting to the convention the governor of the state of Maryland, the Honorable Albert C. Ritchie. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.)

#### GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE OF MARYLAND SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR SMITH

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE (of Maryland): I have the high privilege of rising on behalf of the state of Maryland to second the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

This vast assemblage is representative of the only political party that has endured for the life of the nation. (Applause.) It has survived because it has always applied the deathless principles of our faith to the living, breathing, vital questions of the hour.

But I do not wish to say anything of the political creed which is our inheritance. I rise to speak only of a man.

Fate decreed for Governor Smith beginnings which were humble, but it would not have mattered had she decreed them to be high. It would not have mattered what environment she had cast around him, what path of life she had laid out for him, or what obstacles she had placed in his way. She moulded him in the

fashion of a man, and he was destined to realize to their fullest and their richest degree the possibilities of America as the land of opportunity.

Grover Cleveland said the whole art of government is simply applied common sense and common honesty, with reason, justice and tolerance as handmaids. (Applause.)

Governor Smith possesses all these qualities. He is living proof that American democracy can produce leaders simple and yet great. I believe that if every voter in the land could see him and hear him, and come under the spell of his personality, there would be few who would not vote for him. (Applause.) This will be no less true in the North and East and West, than in the South, where the spirit of democracy has never wavered and whose sons and daughters have never faltered in their allegiance to the Democratic Party. (Applause.)

I need not recount his achievements, or dwell on the high purposes and character which move him always, or on the qualities which fit him for the highest office in the world.

I need only say this: Governor Smith is not only the choice of millions of his fellow Democrats, but he fulfills the aspirations and the hopes of the American people, who demand a leader who is all man. (Prolonged applause.)

You can not chart the course of government as you would a highly specialized business machine. You can not run human government by dehumanized efficiency experts who think that charts, blueprints, reports and statistics constitute its whole sum and substance. (Applause.)

The American people need more than that. They will demand more. They will demand that their government be run efficiently and honestly, but that it be guided also by a spirit of humanity, with the hand of hope and help and opportunity held out to the average man. (Applause.)

The Republicans have made their choice. They offer you the embodiment of standardization, centralization and specialization. But they have forgotten human rights.

I speak for a man who has proved that he can give all that can be asked in fearless, honest and efficient administration. I present a man with a brain. But I do not stop there. I present a man with a living, pulsating, understanding heart as well as a brain. (Applause.)

I present him in the name of the state of Maryland, where for three hundred years we have both preached and practiced concord and amity, ordered liberty for the individual, local self-government and religious freedom and toleration for all creeds. (Prolonged applause.)

I have the honor to second the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York for President of the United States. (Prolonged applause, the delegations rising.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair requests the gentlemen who are standing in the aisles to take their seats and also requests that the delegates refrain from conversation.

The chair takes this occasion to express his appreciation to the galleries for the very extraordinary and quiet attention they have maintained since this convention assembled. (Applause.)

The secretary will continue the call of the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Massachusetts.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention is now privileged to hear from the Honorable Andrew J. Peters, of the state of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

MR. ANDREW J. PETERS (of Massachusetts): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Democrats: It is a privilege in behalf of the great commonwealth of Massachusetts to second the nomination of that great governor of the Empire State, whose name has just been presented by my eloquent friend from New York.

The selection of a man for this high office should be made not only because of his contribution to the citizenship of this country, but also as to its future advancement unaffected by extraneous considerations.

The United States is unlike any other nation of the western world. The strongest bond among Englishmen is their common blood. France is peopled by Frenchmen. Germany is a nation of German people. The strength of all these countries is the racial homogeneity of its various populations. Not so this country. Almost from the beginning, representatives of many races and diverse religions have made America their home. While predominantly of British stock, the colonies that gave birth to the American Union had a goodly proportion of French, Dutch, Germans, Irish, Swedes and Jews. All through the nineteenth century successive streams of immigration fled from European tyranny and intolerance to find a welcoming home in America. It is this cardinal fact of history that made Emerson call America "the land of opportunity."

During the nineteenth century America became more and more heterogeneous, so that today all European races and religions have contributed large and important infusions into that composite life we call America. But this country has its own homogeneity, giving it a strength as great as that of any nation and a security second to none. Ours is a homogeneity not of common blood but of common traditions, of common purposes and of common ideals. Our strength is the strength of common aims and

common prides; ours the security of passionate devotion to a land that has made freedom and fullness of life possible to all, regardless of geographic origin. Ours is the strength of vindicated democracy. Our national heroes have all preached the gospel of democracy and in their own way have practiced it. It is our pride that we judge one another on the basis of character and capacity, and are free from the prejudices which in aristocracies set up artificial distinctions and create favored and privileged classes.

At each great national convention we vindicate afresh our theory of democracy for the future by demonstrating that we are ready to apply our democratic ideals at a time when the headship of the nation is involved. Nothing so makes for coherence in our national life as to prove to our own people and to all the world that true Americanism is tested by character and capacity, by fitness to carry on the traditions of this country, and by these alone. As a direct descendant of those who were among the early settlers of this country, I deem it a duty to renew the faith of the Pilgrims. I know no better way to renew that faith than to rejoice in the fact that American conditions can make possible such a career as that of Alfred E. Smith and to recognize that he represents in himself the best proof of American democracy, and the best promise for the future.

I second the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please refrain from conversation on the floor of the convention.

THE READING SECRETARY: Michigan. (No response.)  
Minnesota.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents to the convention the Honorable Andrew Nelson of Minnesota. (Applause.)

MR. ANDREW NELSON (of Minnesota): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: As the spokesman for the united and militant democracy of Minnesota, I rise to second the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith for the presidency of the United States. (Applause.)

The state of Minnesota has a special reason for doing so. Our state will always love and cherish the memory of her favorite son, that peerless and magnetic Democratic leader and governor, John A. Johnson. (Applause.) Like Johnson, Al Smith was born of a lowly but self-respecting and self-reliant mother, whose courage and faith in our institutions proved to be a real help instead of a handicap in the moulding of a great character. (Applause.)

Minnesota is usually regarded as a Republican state. But let



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Placed Governor Smith in Nomination. Member of the  
Executive Committee



me remind you that three of her ablest and best known governors in recent years have been Democrats. I refer to John Lind, John A. Johnson and Winfield Scott Hammond. Let me further remind you that in the memorable election of 1916 our commonwealth came within 390 votes of being carried for Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.) And if the state of California had not done her Democratic duty, we are confident that Minnesota would have done hers on a recount. (Applause.)

Ninety per cent of the Republicans of Minnesota are of the Lincoln type, and only the remaining ten per cent are deliberate devotees of the doctrines of Hamilton. The ninety per cent can be fooled no longer by vague and insincere Republican promises. Minnesota was never so prosperous as during the two terms of Woodrow Wilson. Her citizens are now ready to enroll under the banner of Democracy. They are tired not only of economic privilege and pillage, but of political sham and pretense and hypocrisy as well. The one political figure in whom Minnesota's manhood and womanhood have confidence and to whose leadership her farmers and merchants and miners and manufacturers look for much-needed economic relief and fair play is that kindly, able and wise defender, champion and protector of the rights of the average man—Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Applause.) The social legislation which he has advocated and secured has been humane and liberal and just, without being unduly radical, and has marked out a safe course of progress. The West has watched Governor Smith, as he has for seven years administered the duties of his great office in the interest of all the people. The West does not forget how he saved the water power resources of his state from the greedy grasp of private corporations. (Applause.) Remembering that the powerful are always well represented, Governor Smith has frequently and on his own initiative effectively championed the cause of the disinherited and oppressed of his own city and state. Minnesota and the great Northwest love him because in economic affairs he has the forward look, because his political and social vision extends beyond the Alleghany mountains, because by natural endowment, training and experience he has shown himself to be a citizen, not of a section, but of the whole country. (Applause.)

The people of Minnesota are determined that the reign of graft and greed and privilege at Washington shall end. They are equally determined that the national government shall hereafter be administered in the interest of all the people, and not a favored few. (Applause.)

The farmers of Minnesota spurn with contempt the meaningless farm relief plank of the Republican platform. At Kansas

City they were handed a stone. Here at Houston they shall receive the nourishing bread of economic fair play. (Applause.) With such a platform of principles and with Governor Smith as our standard bearer, the result can not be in doubt. Minnesota will be found in the Democratic column next November. (Applause.) It is, therefore, with confidence and enthusiasm that Minnesota seconds the nomination of that peerless leader of the people, Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair requests all delegates to be seated, and announces that it is desired to take photographs of the convention. In order that the photographs may be successful, it is necessary that all persons remain immovable while the photographs are being taken. The instrument is in the corner of the hall to which I am now pointing. All delegates will please take their seats promptly, and the sergeant-at-arms will request the delegates to remain in their seats.

The secretary will continue calling the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Mississippi; Missouri.

(Delegates rising; prolonged cheering.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair now has the pleasure of introducing to the convention the Honorable Charles M. Howell of Missouri. (Applause.)

#### CHARLES M. HOWELL OF MISSOURI PRESENTS JAMES A. REED FOR NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

MR. CHARLES M. HOWELL (of Missouri): Missouri presents as her candidate for the presidency her distinguished senior senator—a man who is a Democratic platform in himself. (Applause.)

We will not appeal to you because of state pride—that would be selfish. Other states have deserving sons.

We do not address ourselves to any section or any class—that would not be Democratic.

We urge his nomination because he is not the embodiment of any idea that is opposed by any large element of our party. A nomination based on a divided issue might bring party disaster.

We talk to you from a national standpoint, because he stands for those fundamental principles upon which all Democrats can agree and which they have loved and fought for, and are willing to fight for again; because he is at once the creator of the greatest issue of this day and the pitiless sword of its execution; because he is an American, and if President, would be an American President. (Applause.)

We are here for serious business. Political conventions to a large extent shape the destinies of this Republic. We meet at a time of golden opportunity, with success waiting impatiently

to be beckoned if we rise to the high level of the country's need, and the people's hope.

Our object is not to name a candidate, but to elect a President. We must not make our stand upon intra-party issues—issues upon which we are honestly and sincerely divided. Our battle formation should be upon the high plane of broad Democratic principles where all can stand and where all can salute the colors. Unless we do this, our deliberations and our actions here will be idle procedure, and the eloquent declarations of our platform will be useless and unmeaning formulas.

Let us consider what some of those issues are and where Missouri's candidate has stood with respect to them.

For almost eighteen years James A. Reed has played a conspicuous part in the deliberations of the United States Senate. During that time he has voted upon one side or the other of every important question which has affected the welfare of this country. He has never dodged an issue and has never, even by his silence, left doubt as to his position. (Applause.) And at the outset, Missouri desires it to be known that we are willing that our candidate shall stand or fall on his written record.

We stand for the rights of property as well as for the rights of man, but when the rights of property conflict with the rights of man, we stand for the rights of man. (Applause.)

Jefferson on the one side and Hamilton on the other created that issue, and the Democratic party follows Jefferson. No statesman, living or dead, has held more firmly to this doctrine than has Missouri's candidate, James A. Reed.

We are in favor of free, local self-government and in the preservation of the sovereignty of the states. We are in favor of extending the dominion of the federal government to the limits of the Constitution and no further—that is, we support the Constitution. We have always stood for that and there is nothing greater than the Constitution of the United States. Reed is in harmony with Democratic doctrine in this respect.

The concentration and centralization of power at Washington has resulted in a government so ponderous and gigantic that it insists upon being the master of the people, instead of their servant. Reed insists that the people be the masters, and the government their servant. (Applause.)

We are all against trusts, combines, monopolies and conspiracies which seek to destroy honest business and to create an economic empire for the great and powerful. This is contrary to the law of the land and the higher law of common justice. These sound principles of Democratic faith have always controlled Reed's public career.

We are also against the interference of the government in the business affairs of honest men through bureaus, boards, commissions and titled dignitaries who delight to interfere with and prey upon the business that other men have created. That is an unwarranted assumption of governmental authority that should not be tolerated in any country. Reed believes that the government should let honest private business work out its own problems and achieve its own success.

We are in favor of a fair and equitable system of federal taxation. It has been Reed's idea that taxes should be placed upon those who are best able to bear them and that those who are least able to bear them should have the benefit of legislation.

We are not only for an honest administration in government, but we demand of those in power that public plunderers be scourged from office bearing no letters of recommendation, but wearing instead upon their brows the scarlet marks of their everlasting infamy. As to this, it would seem that in the affairs of men and nations, Providence has adjusted its compensations. And so it was that the same era which produced the shameless and nameless debaucheries which have become the open scandal and disgrace of this country, also brought forth the grim avenger.

We are not only in favor of honest elections and the prosecution and punishment of every criminal who betrays his country by polluting the ballot, but we are in favor of driving out of office and keeping out of office every man who directly or indirectly becomes the beneficiary of election frauds.

If in his long career in the Senate Reed had performed no other service to his country, the fight that he has made for honest government and free and pure elections would stand as his everlasting monument. (Applause.)

He drove Newberry from office, and from that day to this, senatorships have not been for sale in Michigan.

It was the senate committee headed by Reed that exposed the crooked elections in Pennsylvania and Illinois. It was his work that barred the doors of the Senate to Smith of Illinois, and sent him back to that state, to be later repudiated by his own people.

It was Reed who barred the doors of the Senate to Vare of Pennsylvania, whose latest conspicuous achievement was to swing the Pennsylvania delegation to Hoover, thereby insuring his nomination. (Applause.)

Only two nights ago, before this great assembly, we heard our temporary chairman chart our course for our conduct in the coming campaign.

We heard the thunders of merited applause, as he marked and charted the course of our party for the coming campaign, flash-

ing against the somber background of Republican inefficiency, failure, fraud and crime, our brilliant opportunity for Democratic success, for enduring service to our country and to the cause of mankind.

And, as he described so vividly, the dark cloud which has hung like a menace of storm over this country for the last eight years, there must have appeared to all—for all who looked could see clearly outlined and conspicuous through the murk and gloom, standing like an avenging Nemesis in the white light of remarkable achievement, the aggressive, battling figure of James A. Reed.

When Mr. Bowers spoke of our fight against entrenched privilege and for honest government, the name of Reed rose unbidden in your thoughts.

When he attacked Mellon and the Mellon trusts you couldn't help thinking of Reed.

When he spoke of Daugherty, you could see Reed, swinging with iron hand the pitiless lash that drove that official from the cabinet, and into everlasting disgrace. (Applause.)

The things which your permanent chairman laid down as principles which we should follow in this campaign have been in Reed's heart uppermost throughout a great many years in the past.

Reed has always insisted that this country should be willing and able to defend its shores. When the Harding administration, at the demand of American pacifists, and lulled into security by the soft voices of foreign diplomats surrendered our command of the seas and sank five hundred million dollars' worth of the greatest battleships that ever rode the waves, Reed, almost alone, condemned the folly of the act.

The Republican Party now proposes to expend seven hundred fifty million dollars in building cruisers to replace the great battleships that were sunk with lighter cruisers.

During the war our great senator supported our great President in every request for money, materials and men. By his eloquence he defeated in the Senate the measure providing for a war cabinet, which would have taken the command and direction of the war from the President, where the Constitution places it, and where it justly belongs. No war cabinet ever won a war, but Woodrow Wilson, backed by the men and resources of this country, won this one, and out of its wreck and ruin, and above the smoke and glare of battle his heroic figure rose to world stature, and in thought and ideals almost passed to world dominion.

In recounting the record of this remarkable man, other great achievements press forward for mention, but time permits only a passing glance.

He has always favored a reduction of the tariff. He has never

advocated a visionary scheme of government, nor of economic conduct.

Individual liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience are doctrines of Democratic faith which have thrilled Reed and inspired his thought and action throughout his long and illustrious career.

For more than a quarter of a century he has preached against religious intolerance in its broadest sense. No man has been a greater champion of religious tolerance than has Senator James A. Reed. (Applause.)

He believes in the supremacy of existing law and is unalterably opposed to the violation or repudiation of any statute, whether of the state or the nation. He believes that if any laws prove oppressive or unwise, the people, through their chosen representatives, have the right and power to repeal or modify them, and that until so repealed or modified, they should be respected, obeyed and strictly enforced. (Applause.)

He has consistently advocated the development of rivers and harbors and the reclamation of the great desert wastes of the West.

More than sixteen years ago he warned Congress of the danger of devastating floods in the Mississippi valley. The warning was unheeded and the floods came.

If the policy he favored had been adopted, this disaster would have been avoided, or its result minimized.

In the closing hours of the last Congress, almost as the gavel fell upon adjournment, by a brilliant stroke of parliamentary tactics, he put the Barge Bill upon its passage, thereby reducing freight rates in all that vast region which lies between the Alleghenies and the Rockies.

In the coming campaign the Democratic Party faces a tremendous task. Let us make no mistake about that. Democracy's battle is always a fierce one for the reason that its cause is unselfish. The forces of greed and privilege can always be rallied because of the pulling power of selfish motive. In the name of expediency they can abandon principle and when they face the enemy they face it with a united front. Witness the recent Republican convention at Kansas City. Eminent, distinguished and disappointed statesmen swore vengeance immediately before the nomination of Hoover and swore allegiance immediately afterwards. Discordant elements, antagonistic interests, weakly submitted to be compromised, accepted a platform of promise in the face of a record of eight years of non-performance; protests were

voiced, brave words were spoken, but when the tumult and the shouting died and the captains and the kings departed, the bold Progressives followed meekly in their train.

Democracy must face in November a united Republicanism rallied under the banner of imaginary prosperity, financed and provisioned by privilege, cheered on by every reactionary influence and led by the greatest self-salesman of this age.

Against this consolidated, selfish and arrogant force, we must select a man who can carry the war into the enemy's country. (Applause.)

As a presidential candidate opposed to James A. Reed, Herbert Hoover is made to order for the sacrifice.

When Hoover was studying politics in the British Empire, Reed was doing a man's part in the politics of this country. (Applause.) While Hoover was aligning himself with the British Liberal Party, Reed was then, as now, fighting the battles of the Democratic Party. (Applause.)

When, ten years ago, Hoover organized the combination of allied buyers to beat down the prices of American farm products, Reed stood on the floor of the Senate and warned against the injustice and iniquity of the plan.

Reed declared then, and he declares now, that lasting farm relief to the farmer must come by permitting him to sell in the same kind of market in which he buys; that he can not buy in a restricted, protected market, and sell in a market which must meet the open competition of the world. (Applause.)

Reed warned then that Hoover's policy would bring disaster to the farmer, and that disaster has come and is still here.

Against Hoover's European training and sympathies stand Reed's splendid Americanism and his magnificent record of accomplishment for the American people.

Imagine Hoover—silent Hoover—discussing the issues of this campaign in American public life today.

In selecting our candidate, we must remember that our deliberations here will be reviewed in the great and solemn referendum of the people in November.

With them rests the final decision of acceptance or rejection. These people will want to know whether or not the candidate in truth represents our declarations of Democratic faith. And in making up their minds on this they will depend not so much upon what is said in the heat of political contest as upon what his record has been in the past.

Moreover, it is one thing to declare an issue, and it is quite another to carry that issue to the people in words that lash and sting them into revolt and united action. There is no man in the

United States today who can do that better than Missouri's candidate. It would seem that the great issue of today was made for the man and that the man was made for the issue.

Measured by these tests, Missouri's candidate is pre-eminent, standing four square to all the political winds that blow.

It has not been the snows of passing winters that have whitened Jim Reed's head. It has been his long battle for Democracy against heavy odds—first, as a farmer boy—next, as a young man battling for his party—and last, as a great statesman, upholding the cause of his country at home and abroad.

At times he has walked through the thunders of popular disapproval, but always to vindication.

And, while his conflicts have left some marks, that glorious youth of hope and ambition, and the power to strike for right is with him, undiminished still.

Against him many a chilling tide has rolled, but the commanding figure remains unbent, and the stout heart unafeard.

And, as Missouri leaves his cause with you, one thing he has charged me to say, that no matter who is nominated by this convention—whether the great honor and distinction shall come to him or pass to another—he will, as always in the past, be subject to call to the party colors until the end of the campaign, no matter whether the hopes of our party shall turn to ashes in our hands, or whether our arms shall be stacked on the plains of victory. (Applause.)

And those who know this man, know that in the future, when great questions press forward for solution, and stupendous issues hang trembling in the balance, if our country be assailed by enemies from without or attacked by foes from within, his voice will be raised in the defense of his party, in the defense of his country, and above that, in defense of the rights of man, as long as that silver tongue can utter a golden word. (Prolonged applause.)

(There was a demonstration by the delegates and parading, various states participating.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will please come to order. The secretary will continue to call the roll of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: Montana. (No response.) Nebraska.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair takes pleasure in introducing to the convention the Honorable Eugene D. O'Sullivan of Nebraska.



MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
Eastern Director of Women's Activities of the  
Democratic National Committee



EUGENE D. O'SULLIVAN OF NEBRASKA PRESENTS GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK FOR NOMINATION  
FOR PRESIDENT

MR. EUGENE D. O'SULLIVAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the Democrats of the state of Nebraska I wish to present to this convention as a presidential nominee the name of Gilbert M. Hitchcock. He was born and reared in Omaha, Nebraska, and bears in his native state and in the nation at large an enviable reputation for moral and political rectitude and he has a character in keeping with his reputation. In these times when wrong seems to have enthroned itself in the high places in business and governmental life, and spread itself like the "green bay tree" of Biblical mention, it is indeed a wholesome and refreshing thought that Nebraska and the nation can, without the aid of daylight, a philosopher and a lantern, find a truly honest man singularly fitted to fill the highest office within the gift of a great people. He bears a name in his public and private life which is unsullied by white gold, yellow gold or black gold. (Applause.)

Like all of the real good men of our country (and a few of the real bad ones) he was educated for and became a lawyer. He received his legal education in the law department of Michigan State University. Thinking better of it, however, more than thirty years ago he abandoned the practice of law and became the editor and publisher of a daily newspaper which has since become widely known as the Omaha World-Herald. Through the extraordinary business judgment, the manly ability and the eminent fairness of Mr. Hitchcock, this newspaper has become recognized as the leading Democratic newspaper of the middle west—the exponent of progressive Democracy in the West—a paper which has numbered among its employees newspapermen of ability, character and real worth. The late lamented William Jennings Bryan was once its editor. (Applause.)

In passing, let us stop to observe that it is our thought that we of this convention, composed of representative men and women interested vitally in the living, can, without condemnation, pause to pay a few tributes to this noble dead. This is the first national Democratic convention to be held since the death of Nebraska's forceful character, William Jennings Bryan. We of Nebraska wish to extend to his bereaved wife, children, relatives and friends our heartfelt sympathy. Great Commoner, though you have slipped into death's total long eclipse, we remember you. In a space of four short years you have been taken from the freshness of health to the paleness of death, from the active forum of life to

the shroud and the grave. Leader, soldier, statesman, honest Christian man, when you grew tired and laid life's weary burden down at the merciful feet of God we hope your reward was eternal life, and though your grave in Arlington Cemetery may be dark and damp and cold, the memory of your beautiful life is bright and warm in the hearts of oppressed humanity. Though the request is futile, it is Nebraska's hope that the "blue grass over your head will lie light." Good night, leader, soldier statesman, honest Christian man—good night.

Through the aid of Mr. Hitchcock's newspaper the great Commoner was elected twice to the national House of Representatives and every national and state Democratic candidate has received loyal support. Suffice it to say that for over thirty years Mr. Hitchcock's newspaper has, with uniformity, with consistent sincerity, with real devotion, promulgated and defended the gospel of Democracy, and he has given unstintingly of his time, brains and money in order to further the great cause. He always spelled Democracy with a big "D." He worked on in the cause of Democracy in Nebraska even though many times throughout those more than thirty years there came for Democrats and Democracy in Nebraska the nights when no man save Hitchcock labored.

During the period of time beginning with the year 1902 and ending with the year 1910, Mr. Hitchcock served three terms in the national House of Representatives, and during that period of time, beginning with the year 1911 and ending with the year 1923, he was twice elected to the Senate of the United States. He has the record of having been elected three times to the national House of Representatives in a Republican congressional district, and has been elected twice to the United States Senate in a Republican state. He was the only Democratic senator Nebraska ever had. (Applause.)

Mr. Hitchcock's record in the national House of Representatives was that of an active, intelligent and honest public servant, and without burdening you unduly I wish to bring back to your minds the following from his record in the United States Senate:

On entering the Senate he became a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Military Affairs, the newly established Committee on Banking and Currency, and was chairman of the Committee on the Philippines.

Soon after the outbreak of the war in 1914, Senator Hitchcock introduced and advocated a measure prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition during the war to be used against any country with which we were at peace. For some time this was an important issue in Congress, but was defeated. Also, as a

member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he had charge, in February, 1917, of a resolution authorizing the President to arm American merchant ships to protect them from attacks then being made. This measure was defeated by the famous filibuster led by Senator LaFollette in the closing days of the session, which ended at noon on the fourth of March.

Early during Senator Hitchcock's second term in the Senate he had charge, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, of the resolution declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany, and during the whole period of the war he was an active member of the Committee on Military Affairs, which was naturally one of the most active committees of the Senate during that period.

Before the war closed Senator Hitchcock was elected as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations after the death of Senator Stone, and about the same time became acting leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate upon the death of Senator Martin of Virginia. He held both of these positions at the close of the war, and when peace was being negotiated it fell to his lot to have charge of the ratification of the treaties of peace, including the League of Nations.

From the standpoint of service to the Democratic Party, if the commonly accepted thought that service gives seniority prevails in this convention, Mr. Hitchcock is certainly entitled to become the Democratic nominee for President. (Applause.)

It takes a man of courage to be the chief executive of this nation, and we believe that Nebraska's choice has that courage. Nothing can illustrate better the truth of this assertion than to hearken back to the days of the late war. Mr. Hitchcock owed much of his political support in Nebraska to those of races, or racial extractions, who were in sympathy with the so-called central powers. Being a man of peace, at first he did his utmost to keep the United States out of the war. With force and decision, in the year 1914, he advocated in the United States Senate, as before stated, a law prohibiting the exportation of all munitions of war to any foreign country to be used by that country against any country with which we were at peace—the one law which probably would have kept this country out of the war. The measure was defeated, and in time our country was at war. Throughout the time we were in the war Mr. Hitchcock was loyal to his country and sustained unfalteringly the policies of the country—the policies of the then chief executive of this nation. He was not recreant to his trust. He did his full part, even though to do so cost him his seat in the United States Senate. He had the courage to place the welfare of his country above all else. His patriot-

ism was above his ambition—too rare a trait in individuals in these days. Gilbert M. Hitchcock in the hour of trial stood at his post of duty—stood by his country—stood by its chief executive, and in the parlance of the street, in order to insure his own political success he never took a strong dose of “scamper-away powders,” like some whom we know. (Applause.)

At this time, if ever, the proposed chief executive of this nation should be a tolerant man, and Mr. Hitchcock is recognized as such a man. The people of these United States have no time for the bigot, that is, the man who has a mind anciently likened to the pupil of the eye, in that the more light which is poured upon it the more it contracts. Racial and religious freedom—the live and let live idea—the Golden Rule are a part of his law of life. In his opinion bigotry and blind creeds have had their day. (Applause.)

Lastly, it takes a man of good general health, we believe, to be the chief executive of this nation, and Mr. Hitchcock is such a man.

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, Nebraska presents her choice to you. He faces this convention as an honest man—a man in whom character and reputation are synonyms—an educated man—a successful man in his own business undertakings—an experienced and capable man in politics and governmental affairs generally—a man whose unselfish service to the party entitles him to recognition—a man who by reason of his newspaper can do much today for Democracy—unselfishly and devotedly patriotic—a tolerant man—a man in good health. He faces you erect, temperate, clear eyed and keen minded. A big man in the truest sense of the word, with still the common touch. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue to call the roll of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: Nevada.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will now be privileged to hear the Honorable William Woodburn, chairman of the Nevada delegation, who will speak within the limit provided for seconding addresses. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM WOODBURN (of Nevada): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: New York, the heart of the East, has spoken in behalf of its greatest son. I wish to speak for the heart of the West which, while in point of population is the smallest state in the Union, yields to no commonwealth of the country in its love and admiration for the New York governor. (Applause.)

The West loves Al Smith because his life gives a glimpse to

the West of the great service that he may render to the country if chosen as its chief executive.

The West loves Smith because of his unfaltering courage and inflexible honesty.

The West loves him because he is an American filled with the noblest sense of humanity and fit to serve the great cause which makes for the betterment of mankind.

The West loves Smith because his life is an open book, his public career an anthem and an inspiration to the youth of the land.

The West loves him because he stands for honest government, equality before the law, for equal and exact justice, a square deal for all.

The West loves him because he is a simple and humble Christian and not ashamed of the religion through which he worships God. (Applause.)

It is because of this that the distinguished son of the great Empire State has inspired in the progressive West a boundless regard and affection. It is because of this that Nevada, the heart and spirit of that progressive West, is proud to second the nomination of the New York governor, and it is as certain as that the sum of righteousness prevails, that Al Smith will become the next President of this inspiring Republic. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the Honorable John H. McCooey of New York to make a motion.

MR. JOHN H. MCCOOEY (of New York): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I move that this convention do now adjourn until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

## SECOND SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 28, 1928,  
3:00 o'Clock P. M.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please come to order. Remain standing where you are while the Reverend J. N. R. Score, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, delivers the invocation.

THE REVEREND J. N. R. SCORE (Pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, Houston, Texas): Oh God, who art, who was, and is to come, before whose eyes generations and nations rise and pass away; age after age seeks Thee and finds Thee true. We give Thee thanks that our fathers walked in Thy guidance, and that

we, their children, still behold Thy leading fire by night and cloud by day.

We thank Thee for true men who have sought to spread abroad in our land Thy truth. Forbid that we should be unworthy sons of worthy sires, and grant, we pray Thee, that we may be imbued with spiritual strength and vision so that our earthly citizenship may be heavenly in character.

We pray for our country. May Thy guiding hand be seen in our daily life as a nation. May we do justly, love mercy and walk humbly before our God. Give to our rulers and leaders wisdom that cometh only from Thyself, and to us who follow give, we beseech Thee, the courage to render honest service to our state and nation.

And now we invoke Thy blessings upon this great convention and upon this session of the convention, in Christ's name. Amen.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will call the roll of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: New Hampshire. New Jersey. New Mexico. North Carolina.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM C. NEWLAND (of North Carolina): Mr. Chairman, North Carolina yields to her sister state, Tennessee. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: North Carolina yields to Tennessee. (Applause.) The chair presents to the convention the Honorable H. H. Hannah of Tennessee.

CORDELL HULL PLACED IN NOMINATION BY H. H.  
HANNAH OF TENNESSEE

MR. H. H. HANNAH (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention. I would not violate the ethics of this great honor by attempting to read a set speech, nor would I violate your great courtesy. I would but bespeak for my great state, Tennessee, whose mighty heart has overflowed today with hope and love and happiness, that she has the distinguished privilege of being in this great convention with her sister states of the American Union, this great national convention of old-fashioned Democracy, living, loving and genuine-souled Democrats (applause) who are the salt of the world and the hope of the plain people of America.

I believe that this convention today is the nearest place to heaven this side of the pearly gates. (Applause.) But I have not seen a single Republican or a sinner within fifty miles of Houston since this convention has been in order. What a marvelous privilege it is to be a Democrat and to belong to a great party as old as the Republic, a great party that meets in its great

convention here with its sons and daughters and can look into the face of civilization without either fear or shame for the part it has taken in the destiny of mankind! I believe that a man in this great Democratic convention could strike a match without being afraid of starting a conflagration because of it, which was the great fear and pallor that overhung the Kansas City convention like the sword of Damocles. You know that it was the fear that overhung that convention that froze its soul and left it colorless and robbed it of all individuality. Even old Senator Smoot, its great platform builder, was paralyzed with terror for fear some old-fashioned farmer might get into the convention or some unsophisticated Democrat with a safety match in his pocket. I want to say to this great convention it is a matchless privilege to belong to a great party that represents the masses of America, the people of this nation, like you do here today. And especially is it great that that class of citizens, they who have made this nation great with their toil and sweat, they who have borne its burdens and the burdens of civilization upon their backs, the American farmer, he is in this convention, and I know of no place in all the world where the farmer and his family, his wife and children, are more at home than in an old-fashioned Democratic convention. (Applause.)

I have to say to the farmers of America that they will not be driven out of this convention like Russian peasants, like they were out of the Kansas City convention, with the bold whip of plutocracy in the hands of the overlords of the east or the Negro delegates from the South that dominated the Kansas City convention of Dives. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, everybody ought to love the old Democratic Party that has got a heart. Everybody ought to love it for its humanitarianism. They ought to love it because it is the greatest Samaritan in all the history of the world. It has been going down the way doing kindnesses to humanity along the roadside of life since its existence. But never in its whole life has it proven its humanitarianism as it has this year. Not so with our ancient enemy, the old Republican Party, in the mud and slime of its misspent life, down there pandering and dawdling in its blindness for a candidate for the presidency, some old standpat Republican whose garments had not been splattered with its own record. When they could not find any the Democratic Party laughingly suggested, as a last possible relief, that we might be able to tell them about a man that they could use if they could not do any better, a man that the great Democratic administration, in an exigency of war, found over in England, a man that was advertised and guaranteed to the administration here by the English lord, Balfour, that he had been a

former American citizen. This man's recommendation for the position as chief commissary clerk in the rear of the army in Europe, was that he had never voted the Republican ticket in his entire life. No one ever accused him of ever having supported a Republican nominee, and no one ever accused him of having sat in the councils of the Republican Party. With such a recognition, our great administration thought it recommendation enough that the foodstuffs gathered by the charities of America would reach the bleeding Belgians and not the coffers of the Republican Campaign Committee. The fact that he was a foreigner, the fact that he was an alien for years to our flag and country, would be to his advantage, for any man to be away from the Republican Party for the last eight years would help his candidacy in any campaign. Not only that, but the fact that he had been in China, the fact that he had been in Britannia, the fact that he had been in the seven seas, would only be to his advantage because of his proving an alibi and pleading the statute of limitations in aiding in galvanizing the old party that had lost its character before the bar of civilization. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, Tennessee is proud of her history, she is proud of the part that she has played with her sister states, building in this great western world the greatest Democracy in the annals of time. Her sons have glorified with their valor and courage every battlefield in the history of this nation. Tennessee, while we were still a part of our old mother state, North Carolina, God bless her, the "Old North State." (Applause.) While we were still a part of North Carolina, the first altars of liberty were built west of the Allegheny mountains. Among those altars the first organized Democratic form of government was organized in this country, even before the declaration of American independence was written. From that time until this, Tennessee has kept the faith; her sons and daughters have kept the faith. A great Tennessean, a great son of our state, a great representative of this American Republic, stood up for this mighty empire of the Southwest, James K. Polk. The territory leads from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and it was this wilderness of the West to which our pioneer mothers and fathers from Tennessee and Kentucky and Virginia and North Carolina went and which they conquered. Many of our fathers back in the early days, in covered wagons, with their Bibles, their wives and children, faced the trackless wilderness and the savage foe, and came down, thousands of them, to this land of promise, right down here, to this Canaan of Democracy, and with their courage helped to lay the foundation stone of the Empire State of Texas—God bless her. (Applause.) Silhouetted on the horizon of Texas history are the figures of many distinguished men, but



Underwood & Underwood

**GEORGE R. VAN NAMEE**

Pre-Convention Manager of Governor Smith's Campaign and  
Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee



standing immortal on that horizon are two great Tennessean-Texans. One, David Crockett, that patriot with an intrepid soul, who, with his band of heroes, turned the Alamo into a glorious Thermopylae, and taught men how to die for God and country and local self-government. (Applause.)

The other great Tennessean, the other great Tennessean-Texan, was that great man who has flooded your history like "When Knighthood Was in Flower," the hero of San Jacinto, the man whom this imperial city, whose guests we are, has immortalized by naming it Houston. (Applause.)

The years have come and gone since then and Texas has grown to be one of the greatest states in the American Union, where six millions of proud and happy people live, and where five million, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand of them are Democrats, thank God. (Applause.) And room enough for ten million more down here in Texas. In the building of this state, the descendants of Tennesseans in every county and hamlet and village have played their part and one of your great sons, one who has added glory and luster to your name, one who is splendid in his personality—our great Tennessean-Texan, Jesse Jones of Houston, Texas.

Therefore, may I not, without violating ethics, claim that Tennessee is the mother of Texas, and as a mother she bids me bring you her greetings and her love, to her sons and daughters of the old volunteer state.

Tennessee has cradled in her heart the ashes of three great Presidents. She stands guard with complete devotion over the sacred tomb where sleeps the immortal "Old Hickory," Andrew Jackson, the greatest Democrat of all time.

She, therefore, then bids me bring her greetings to you delegates, her devotion and her faith in the name of her great son, Jackson, and all her illustrious dead; to you, gentlemen of the convention, and ladies, who hold in the hollow of your hands the destiny, not only of the people of America, but the destiny of the men and women under every flag throughout the world, who love liberty and pray God for freedom, and turn their faces towards Houston.

You delegates who sit here know best of all the struggles Democracy has had to make down here. You know that Democracy never reached its fullest fruit or fairest flower until a young Virginian caught the music, from eighteen centuries, of a young man in Galilee that was teaching a new faith and a new doctrine; and that young Virginian was able to translate the story of the Galileean into law, when he breathed into the Declaration of American Independence a soul, a great Democratic soul, and it blossomed into those marvelous expressions that never yet had been heard

in the world: That all men are born free and equal before the law; that no man shall be denied the right of life or liberty, or property, or the pursuit of happiness; and then Jefferson reached up into the stars and caught the music of a new day and wrote that every man shall have the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. (Prolonged applause.)

This young Virginian had a struggle and this new creed of Thomas Jefferson, in its early morning, had its struggle and its pitfalls. Hamilton and the Federalists challenged the right of the plain people to build a government based upon the consent of the governed, and it never became a fixed policy until that great Tennessean, the noblest Roman of them all, Old Hickory Jackson, on the battlefield and in the White House, made the vision of Jefferson become a living reality, and, by the eternal, he made it a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen of this convention, this is a great crisis. It is a great hour, but I believe that the God of our fathers has preserved America as the home of liberty and as the custodian and leader of Democracy. In every hour of our national need God has called from the plain people some great Democrat to lead the country back to the old-fashioned days and to common honesty, just as He did when the world was afire, when the greatest war in the history of the world was ravaging continental Europe, and when forty million young men were mobilized under all the flags of every nation on earth, when widows' tears and orphans' sighs drowned out every melody and left the world only dirges and requiems.

At that time, when the world was in this death-grapple, there was in the White House a great Democrat, and when Democracy had her back to the wall and it looked like all was lost, it was then that this great Democrat reached out his arm, and with our soldiers sweeping the fields of France like a scourge, sweeping through the Argonne and breaking the Hindenburg line, that man continued to worship God and continued to believe in government based upon the consent of the governed. We were not then going out and taking territory, not taking other men's land, but this great Democrat was taking humanity in his arms and taking the bleeding world on his breast, this greatest Democrat of all time, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. (Applause.)

And now, fellow citizens, I want to say to you that there may be some people in this house that do not believe in the Providence in men's lives or in the destiny of states, but I want you to stop and think what it would have been if the administration that succeeded Woodrow Wilson had been in power in this nation dur-

ing the war. It is not my purpose to lift the curtain upon the bacchanalian revels that followed, nor to show you the indecencies and corruption that followed the World War. I want to ask you, shall this Jezebel, this painted Jezebel of the Republican Party, remain in power in this country? I do not believe that conscience is dead. I do not believe that the people are spiritually dead, or that we are morally dead, but I believe that this great convention will nominate some great Democrat to lead us back to the faith of our fathers, and take the government back to fundamentals, back to the old days when men believed in honesty in this country.

And Tennessee presents you such a man. Tennessee offers you such a candidate for the presidency here today; not as a favorite son, but a man who measures up to the crying needs of this great hour in our nation's life; a man who by his learning, by his statesmanship, his public service to the country for twenty-odd years, has become a great national figure. I do not offer you a figure of sectionalism. We do not offer him for any section. He belongs to the nation. We do not believe in offering a candidate alone from the South, but I do not believe that because he lived in Tennessee or because he is from the South that his candidacy should be minimized because he comes from that section of this great Republic that has ever stood faithful in sunshine and in shadow for the Democratic Party, the Land of Dixie, and will continue to do so in the future. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I will tell you his life story, if I may, in a few words. He was born in the mountains of Tennessee. He comes from good old Anglo-Saxon stock. He has behind him three centuries of that same Scotch-Irish blood that you people down in this country have got. He was raised on a farm. He worked in the fields day by day until he was twenty years old. He rafted logs on the Cumberland River. He went through college, graduated with honors, graduated with honors in law, and while still a young man went to our legislature, and in a modest, quiet way, took a position of honor there, and was called by the old men The Shepherd Lad, the Young David, who had come to lead his people.

Then, ladies and gentlemen of this great convention, he answered the call to arms. The Spanish-American War came along. The Spanish king was denying to people of the western world the same rights that an English king denied you and me in the years that had come and gone; and then it was that an American battleship on a peaceable voyage in Havana harbor was blown up, and the dogs of war were turned loose.

Among the first to come down to the state capital and report to our governor, the beloved Bob Taylor, who loved Texas, was the man I present. When he came down, he said, "Sir, I have 106

mountain boys, and we are ready, sir." That is the same answer than Tennesseans have made from King's Mountain all the way down to the Argonne, "We are ready, sir."

Then he was assigned to my regiment. We went to Cuba together. There never was a finer officer or more beloved soldier that wore his government's uniform than the one we are offering here.

We came home together and he went to his mountain home and took off his new captain's uniform and hung it up in the old closet beside his father's old blood-stained, gray jacket that he had worn under Robert E. Lee, Jackson and Forrest, and with Pat Cleburne of Texas. I visualize the old gray jacket putting its arms around the new captain's uniform of his son; and I see the Mason and Dixon line disappear and we become one great people in America, united under the flag.

When he came back to Tennessee he was elected judge of our circuit court. He would have risen to the highest place in our judiciary, but for the fact that the people of Tennessee said to this young Andrew Jackson, the young leader of our people, quiet and modest, that he belonged to the nation, and they elevated him to the American Congress.

When he got in Congress he soon took his place there among the great men and the leaders of his party. He is regarded on both sides of the chamber, by both Republicans and Democrats in the Senate and the House, as a leader in the national Congress, and as perhaps the greatest authority on taxation and financing in American public life. He has given the best that is in him for the sake of his country.

He wrote the great income tax law that has stood the test of the courts and during the war brought in fifteen billion dollars to help defray expenses of the war and which today adds two billion dollars annually to the revenues of this government. All the legislation that has been enacted during the eight years of Woodrow Wilson's great administration was passed upon by the man we offer before you.

And, ladies and gentlemen, not only that, but he reached the heights of his glory during the war when this young Tennessean was with Woodrow Wilson until the wee hours of the morning, at the elbow of his great chief, and they together formulated all the plans, wrote all the laws, and enacted them, not only to finance the war, but to help us carry on and to help our allies in their hour of need.

It was the great Wilson who said time after time, "Whenever I need a lieutenant send this young Tennessean to me. He has the greatest mind for international law that I know, and he has

come in contact with more foreign policies, and knows more about government, and is in a better position to serve our people than any Democrat in America."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in 1914 he became a member of the national committee, and any member of that committee here will testify to what I say. He fought our battles in 1921, and when the Republicans had swept this country like a wind that withered everything in its path, when Democracy was scattered and broken, they called him to the chairmanship of your party that has brought you here today. He brought together those who had stood for the faith and welded the broken line. He found your committee in debt over \$775,000. It was this young Tennessean that went out and collected this huge amount and paid every dollar that he owed —and he didn't take a dollar of it from Sinclair, like the Republican Party did.

Ladies and gentlemen of this convention, in the name of Tennessee, in the name of the Democracy of the South, I want to present to you this great Tennessean, a great statesman, a great soldier, a great, splendid man, a man of the same brain as Jackson, and of Jefferson, and of Woodrow Wilson, for President of the United States, the Honorable Cordell Hull of Tennessee.

(At the close of the address there was prolonged applause, the delegates rising and marching in parade, various states participating.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will please come to order. Please take your seats promptly.

The secretary will continue the call of the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: North Dakota.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Honorable J. L. Page is to be heard next. On account of hoarseness it is requested that the clerk shall read his address. Without objection that will be done.

THE READING SECRETARY (reading):

#### SPEECH OF J. L. PAGE OF BOTTINEAU, NORTH DAKOTA

North Dakota rises to second the nomination of Alfred E. Smith of New York. We do this because of the excellent support given by the members of Congress from New York to the McNary-Haugen Bill. As Edmund Burke pleaded with the Tory government of Great Britain to extend equal rights and privileges to the agricultural interests of the British Empire, consisting of the American colonies, so today many Democrats are pleading for equality for agriculture with a Tory Congress at Washington, which is today denying equal rights and privileges to the agricultural interests of this country. As the merchants and manufacturers of England were looking upon the agricultural interests

of the British Empire as people to furnish raw material and food products, a market for their manufactured goods, and to be taxed, so today the merchants, manufacturers, railroads, coal-mining and steel industries of this country are dictating the legislation for their own interests. In the vetoing of the McNary-Haugen Bill equal consideration for agriculture was denied.

The Republican Party at Kansas City sat at a feast of Belshazzar. The hand of agriculture wrote upon the wall of that convention hall, "Ye have been weighed in the balance and found wanting." This year their kingdom shall be taken from them, not by might nor by power, but by the still small voice of the ballot, vouchsafed to the citizens of the United States by the Constitution. And then, my fellow Democrats, on the 4th of March, this Tory administration of special privilege, by special privilege, and for special privilege shall give way to a Democratic administration of the PEOPLE, by the PEOPLE, and for the PEOPLE. Then shall their black flag of piracy be replaced by those Democratic emblems of Jefferson and Jackson, "Equal and exact justice to all and special privileges to none," and "Let the people rule." And on that day, when Alfred E. Smith, as President, shall hold up his right hand and take the oath of office as President of the United States, the very bones of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson shall rise up and say, "Ye have kept the faith."

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will continue the call of the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Ohio.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention is now privileged to hear the Honorable Joseph C. Breitenstein of Ohio. Mr. Breitenstein. (Applause.)

#### ATLEE POMERENE PLACED IN NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT BY MR. BREITENSTEIN OF OHIO

MR. JOSEPH C. BREITENSTEIN (of Ohio): Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the united and loyal Democracy of the state of Ohio it is my privilege to place in nomination for the presidency a man, national in thought, national in patriotism and national in experience; a man whom the Democracy of the state of Ohio delights to honor because in the various offices which he has held he has shed lustre upon the Democratic Party.

He was born in a village located in Holmes County, Ohio, probably the most consistent Democratic county in the state.

His father was a country physician who dedicated his life to

serving humanity and the education of his family of eleven children, of which Ohio's candidate is the fourth.

It was in this environment that he was reared and had inculcated in him the lessons of service to his fellowmen.

His training, his education and his career are typically American.

He attended the Villate school and Vermillion Institute, Hayesville, Ohio, where he was tutor of Latin and Greek.

He graduated from Princeton in 1884 with the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts and from Cincinnati Law School with the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

He entered upon the practice of law at Canton, Stark County, Ohio, in 1886.

In the following year he was elected city solicitor of Canton and was re-elected in 1889, serving for four years.

In 1896 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Stark County on the same day when William McKinley, a fellow townsman, was elected President of the United States, he being the only Democrat elected to office in Stark County at that election.

In 1906 he was appointed by Governor Andrew L. Harris, Republican, to membership on the Honorary Tax Commission of Ohio and his work on that commission brought him to the attention of the leaders of the Democratic Party of the state.

In 1908 he was a candidate for the nomination of the Democratic Party for the office of governor of Ohio, being strongly supported in his candidacy for that office by Tom L. Johnson, then mayor of Cleveland, and other progressive Democrats.

In 1910 he was chairman of the Ohio State Democratic Convention at Dayton, which convention nominated him for Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Governor Judson Harmon, candidate for re-election.

He was elected Lieutenant Governor November 9, 1910, and on January 10, 1911, elected by the Legislature United States senator.

He was re-elected United States senator by the people of the state of Ohio at the general election November 7, 1916, serving until March 4, 1923.

He was chairman of the Ohio State Democratic Convention at Columbus, August 29, 1918.

During his term of twelve years' service in the United States Senate he was a member of the following committees: Banking and Currency, Foreign Relations, Interstate Commerce, Manufactures, Privileges and Elections.

As a member of the Banking and Currency Committee he took

active part in the formulation and enactment of the Federal Reserve Law and the Federal Farm Loan Act.

He was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee from 1913 to 1923, during all of which time he actively participated in the work of that committee and co-operated with President Wilson in the handling of our relations with foreign powers.

He gave loyal support to President Wilson during the trying years of the World War and his voice and vote were ever on the side of legislation and treaties which had for their object the winning of the war and the bringing about of permanent peace in the world. (Applause.)

He is a profound student of international law and of the problems confronting the United States in its relations with other nations.

As chairman and member of the Privileges and Elections Committee he conducted, on behalf of the Senate, the investigation into the expenditures made on behalf of Truman H. Newberry, a senator from the state of Michigan, and as a result of the disclosures brought about by that investigation Senator Newberry resigned.

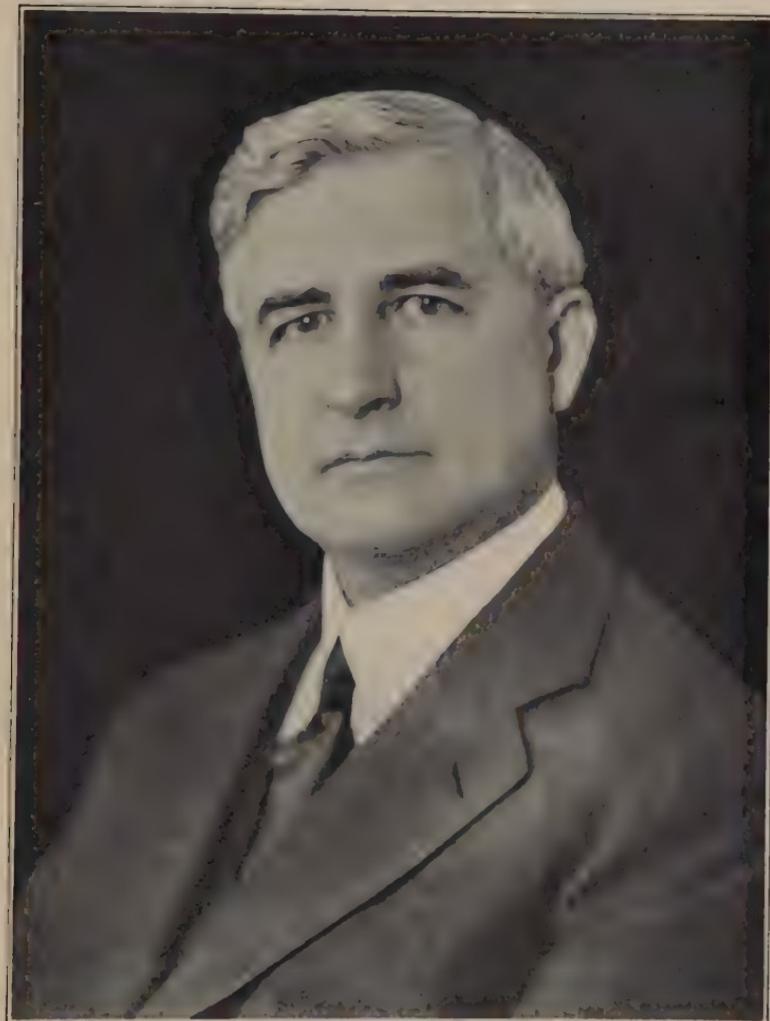
At the expiration of his second term in the Senate in 1923 he was appointed by President Warren G. Harding a delegate to the Fifth Pan-American Conference, held in Santiago, Chile, South America.

In 1924 he was appointed by President Calvin Coolidge one of the special counsel in charge and control of the litigation growing out of the leasing of the naval petroleum reserves in Wyoming and California. (Applause.)

As a result of the professional skill of Ohio's candidate and his colleague on behalf of the government as special counsel there was brought about the restoration of the naval reserves and the records show recoveries of \$34,864,095.46 in cash and property from the Pan-American Elk Hills, California, lease and \$12,436,921.41 in cash and property from the Teapot Dome lease, a total of \$47,301,016.87 recovered in cash and property, in addition to the recovery of the naval petroleum oil lands known as the Elk Hills lease in California and the Teapot Dome lease in Wyoming. (Applause.)

A recent survey made by the best oil engineers in the country, under the direction of the secretary of the navy, of the Pan-American (Elk Hills) oil reserve, recovered by the special counsel on behalf of the government, amounting to approximately 32,000 acres, discloses that there are approximately 600,000,000 barrels of recoverable oil still in that property.

A similar survey of the so-called Teapot Dome property recovered by the special counsel on behalf of the government cover-



JESSE H. JONES

Director of Finance Democratic National Committee, 1924-1928,  
who secured the Democratic National Convention for Houston



ing approximately 9,321 acres, discloses that there are approximately 35,000,000 barrels of recoverable oil still in that property.

Ohio's candidate has not sought the nomination; his friends have not sought to win delegates away from others.

Every crisis evolves its master; time and circumstances have evolved Ohio's candidate.

The North, the South, the East and the West can unite on him.

At this time when many are looking to the government only as a means of self-enrichment, with unbridled corruption in high places, we need a man who feels, as our fathers felt, that public honor is private honor, that public disgrace is private disgrace; public failure is private failure and that public office is a public trust.

Recognizing fully the imperative demand of the hour, completely conscious of the condition that should attach to the nomination and election of the man to be the next President of the United States, I present him to you as measuring up to all of these needs.

He possesses a rare combination of capacity, character and courage which pre-eminently fits him for the presidency. He excels alike in wisdom and resolution. He hewed his way to the front in state and national politics not by the guile and arts of the politician, but with the weapon of intellect and courage.

He attained success by industry, self-reliance and manliness. He has had those experiences which make him responsive to the needs and demands of the men and women who work and toil.

As a legislator he has voted for and eloquently proclaimed true Democratic principles. To labor he has extended his constant support. He has been the consistent and efficient champion of agriculture. He has been liberal and progressive without being destructive and radical.

In his long career of public responsibility in high office, no scandal, either public or private, has ever smirched his fair name. Both his public and private life will stand the test of the violet ray of pitiless publicity without disclosing a single unhealthy spot.

He possesses in a pre-eminent degree that sterling quality of honesty which has been justly proclaimed the greatest of virtues.

He will redeem the department of justice from the scorn of an indignant people, and will protect the public domain with a flaming sword of common honesty.

He stands for the building up of the American nation and, like Grover Cleveland, will preserve the Monroe Doctrine and command the peace of the world.

He is an eloquent, forceful speaker and no one has more ability

to present clearly and convincingly the public issues in the coming campaign.

Like Jefferson, he stands primarily for liberty—liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty in religion and the greatest possible liberty of action consistent with the preservation of stability and order, and stands for the conservation of the rights of states and local self-government everywhere.

He has the dash and courage of an Andrew Jackson, and, like Old Hickory, believes in equal rights for all and special privilege for none.

He possesses the common sense, the love of country and passion for economy of a Grover Cleveland, the idealism, the love of service, the knowledge, vision and outlook of a Woodrow Wilson.

He would bring to the support of our party the independent forces which swept Grover Cleveland into power. He would rally to our standard every independent and every dissatisfied Republican who genuinely wants a sane, progressive liberal at the head of our government.

Ohio presents to you a tried and experienced man who, under many and varied circumstances, has proved his worth. She offers you his intelligence, his patriotism, his capacity, his courage and his Democracy for the service of the nation.

In the name of the Democracy of the state of Ohio I now nominate for the office of President of the United States Ohio's gifted and brilliant son of quiet dignity, superb poise and spotless life, pre-eminent in leadership, in law, in statesmanship, in intellectual and moral greatness, Atlee Pomerene. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Unanimous consent is requested that Mrs. McGowan deliver a short address seconding the nomination of Mr. Pomerene. Is there objection? The chair hears none. Mrs. McGowan.

MRS. JOSEPHINE MCGOWAN (of Ohio): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The women of America have been accused of forcing equal suffrage upon the country and then failing to take advantage of it. Perhaps many women have been indifferent to politics up to the present time. They can not be indifferent today with campaign issues that are as important morally as they are politically. If we members of the Democratic Party get our message over to the women of the country this year and offer them a candidate of high repute, of strength and ability, they will lead the crusade for a return to common honesty in government.

Conscientious American citizens, men and women alike, will vote this year for candidates whose records will repudiate the scandal in high places, the violations of the public trust, the spirit

of compromise and hypocrisy that are eating deep into the political heart of the nation.

I have the honor of being a representative in this convention of a state which has given seven Presidents to the United States. Within the last few years the fair name of this great commonwealth has been reviled. We stand before you today seeking an opportunity to offset the opprobrium cast upon us by that particular group of Ohio Republicans known as the "Ohio gang."

We are offering to the nation a candidate from Ohio whose whole public and private life has been in direct antithesis to those who have brought contempt upon the name of our state. Because of his record, his outstanding integrity, his great legal ability, Senator Pomerene was singled out to be a special prosecutor in the oil cases. By his efforts he helped to restore to this country stolen lands to the value of many millions of dollars, a goodly percentage of our national debt. His career as a public servant shows that he never compromised, that he stood firm always, with convictions that were sound and true. Ohio sent him to Washington as her chosen representative. Never once could it be said of him during his years of service there that any bloc or interest could crook its finger at him and call him off the Senate floor to do its bidding.

With deep affection and esteem and with the assurance that we offer to the men and women of this country an upright, honorable, capable and distinguished statesman and patriot, who would fill their highest ideals as President of these United States and who would be a safe and sure and dependable leader for the country and who has the regard and respect of Democrats and Republicans alike, it is my proud and happy privilege to be here today, seconding the nomination of my well loved fellow townsman, Atlee Pomerene. (Applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: Oklahoma.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair introduces the Honorable Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma. (Applause.)

#### MR. GORE SECONDS NOMINATION OF SENATOR REED

MR. THOMAS P. GORE (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Democrats: The Republicans met in Kansas City to pick a candidate. The Democrats met here in Houston to pick a President. (Applause.) Four years ago the Republican Party went to New England to choose a President. This year they have gone to Old England to choose a candidate for the presidency of the United States. (Applause.) The English newspapers are rejoicing at the nomination of Lord Hoover. They say that he is a familiar figure upon the sidewalks of London. The Republican glee clubs in this

country have already commenced to practice that old song, "My Bonnie Lives Over the Ocean." (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. Hoover reminds me of the colored soldier who was asked by his boss when he returned from France how he liked military life. He said, "I don't like it a bit. I got cote-martialed." "Well," his boss said, "what did you get court-martialed about?" "Well," said the soldier, "I don't exactly know, but it was something or other about a furlong." "Oh," said the boss, "Remus, you don't mean a furlong, you mean a furlough." "No, sah," replied the soldier, "I don't mean no furlough, I mean a furlong. They accused me of going too fur and staying too long." (Applause.)

Mr. Hoover went too far and he stayed too long. (Applause.) This convention will nominate, and I second the nomination, of a man who thinks that the United States is a good enough country to live in and who would not leave it in a thousand years and a day if he was offered a seat in the British House of Lords by the crowned head of the British Empire. (Applause.) They tell me that there is some doubt as to whether Mr. Hoover will be able to take out his final papers before the November election. (Applause.)

These old Texans know that the Republicans in Kansas City just branded a maverick that happened to break into their corral. Mr. Hoover had to have a blood test before he could tell whether he was a Democrat or Republican. Shall the American people elect a political prodigal to the presidency of the United States? Shall we repeal the Declaration of Independence? Shall we apologize for the war of the Revolution? Shall we tear down the Stars and Stripes? Shall we crush the American eagle back into its shell? Shall we forget the midnight ride of Paul Revere? Shall we be governed by a British pro-consul? Shall the spirit of George III, of Burgoyne and Cornwallis triumph at last over the spirit of Washington and Marion and all the mighty and sceptered dead whose spirits still rule us from their sacred urns? I second the nomination of a man in whose heart of hearts is enshrined the spirit of 1776. Why is it that the Republican Party, with its record spotted as a leopard skin, wins more often than the Democratic Party with an unspotted record? They stick together. At a Lincoln Day banquet held recently in Oklahoma, a fervent young orator exclaimed, "Let's all kiss and make up, no matter whom we have to kiss." (Prolonged applause.)

If the Republicans can afford to engage in a promiscuous kissing match (applause) it looks like the Democrats might. (Applause.)

Shall Republicans kiss and make up while the Democrats divide and destroy one another?

I second the nomination of a man upon whom all Democrats should be able to unite and to march forth to battle and to victory. He embodies not only the issue of the hour, but the issues of the age. As a friend of freedom, he is opposed to Republican centralization and bureaucracy. As a friend of justice he is opposed to Republican favoritism and privileged plutocracy. As a friend of honest elections he opposes—he exposes the attempts of the Republican bosses to buy and sell seats in the United States Senate like merchandise in a market place. As a believer in the maxim that a public office is a public trust, he has bruised with his heel the ugly head of the serpent of corruption as it crawls in and out of the highest offices in this Republic.

I second the nomination of a man who has never kept silent when silence was sin. In the dreary Republican morgue at Kansas City there was one splendid piece of sardonic humor, one brilliant bit of Irish irony. I refer to that plank in the Republican platform where they say "We stand for honesty in government." (Applause.) Now, why bring that up? (Applause.)

Ought they not to have said that honesty is the best policy—unless the Republican Party is in power? (Applause.)

For corruption, for misfeasance, for malfeasance in office, the Republican Party during the last ten years stands without a rival in the political history of this Republic. Of course, Senator Borah, who still seems to believe in Santa Claus (laughter and applause) proposes to collect a conscience fund with which to return the wages of sin. (Laughter.) But "how in the hell can Borah tell that they ain't gonna steal no mo'?" (Prolonged applause, delegates rising.)

I think that Borah will find that Brother Will Hays is a much better hand at taking up a collection than he is. Hays has improved on Patrick Henry! He says, "Give me liberty bonds or give me cash!" (Applause.)

But the Republican elephant has got to go through this campaign with a teapot on his dome (applause) and inscribed upon that teapot will be these tender, touching words, "Among My Souvenirs." (Applause.)

I second the nomination of a man who has led the crusade not only against those who practice official corruption, but against those who are attempting to buy their way into official position. He knows that the man who will buy an office will sell it. The Republican Party can not face or defend its record in this campaign. It stands convicted today at the bar of public opinion. It does not intend to face this record. It intends to divide the Democrats into factions and to defeat them in detail, and upon what issue does the Republican Party propose to divide the Demo-

crats? Why, upon the issue of prohibition and religion. (Applause.) How can the Republican Party make an issue with us upon prohibition and religion when they haven't got either one. (Applause.)

We have the eighteenth amendment. We have the Volstead Act. Dry to the last drop. They enforce neither one. (Applause.) They give the wets the liquor and the dries the law, and all goes merry as a marriage bell. In the light of the Republican enforcement regime I have sometimes thought that the elephant ought to be superseded by the white mule. (Applause.)

They tell me that even down here in Texas under this Republican regime you can track the white mule from the sunshine of your western prairies to the moonshine of your eastern hills. (Applause.)

I second the nomination of a man whose name is synonymous with law enforcement. He has always believed in a government of equal laws, impartially enforced by honest and competent public officials. He has always opposed a government of unequal laws partially enforced by corrupt or incompetent public officials. He would enforce every part of the Constitution. He would enforce every law of the land. He is the greatest prosecutor in America. If he were President, the crooks, the grafters, the malefactors of great wealth and high office would plead guilty before they were indicted. (Applause.) He has always personified the Bill of Rights, which guarantees liberty to the individual and the rights of our sovereign states. He has devoted the best years of his life to the defense of religious liberty. He champions the Virginia statute drawn by Jefferson separating church and state and guaranteeing religious liberty to our people as a birth-right.

Fellow Democrats, I would like to see this convention declare not only for religious liberty, not only for freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, but declare against religious bigotry and intolerance (applause) and fight this campaign out upon that issue—upon that principle if we lose every state in the Union. (Applause.)

One word about the farmers and I close. The man whose nomination I second would make a direct issue with the Republican nominee. I saw him do battle for the farmers when the dog star was raging to protect them against the plundering practiced upon them by the Republican nominee. It is said that Mr. Hoover will outline a plan for farm relief in his letter of acceptance. He ought to make restitution before he proposes relief. (Applause.) Beware of the Greek and his gifts. On the day that he was nominated the press dispatches said that he barred his doors to all visitors excepting the secretary of state, and they barred the

doors of the convention that nominated him against the farmers of America, and the farmers chanted the death march.

We have not done full justice to the Republicans in regard to farm relief. The national Republican administration has been relieving the farmer—has been relieving the farmer of his farm (applause) and has relieved the farmer of his income tax by relieving him of his income. (Applause.)

Nominate the man whom I am seconding and the Republican committee would have to notify Mr. Hoover of his nomination at the head of navigation of the Yangtse Kiang River in China. (Applause.)

Fellow Democrats, whoever receives two-thirds of the votes of the Democrats in this convention ought to receive the votes of three-thirds of the Democrats in the November election. (Prolonged applause.)

And that stands, no matter who the nominee may be. (Applause.) Whether there be honor among thieves, there certainly ought to be honor among Democrats. (Applause.)

This is the one hundredth anniversary of the election of Andrew Jackson. I second the nomination of the one living Democrat who, most of all, embodies the intrepid spirit of Andrew Jackson. I second the nomination of a man of whom I may say, as Mark Antony said of Caesar, "He has been my friend, faithful and just to me." I second the nomination of that fighting warhorse of Democracy, Jim Reed of Missouri. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Mr. G. M. Fuller will second the nomination of a candidate for President. (Applause.)

#### MR. FULLER SECONDS SENATOR GEORGE

MR. G. M. FULLER (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: As an individual delegate to this convention from the great Democratic state of Oklahoma and not speaking for a majority of our delegation, I rise to second the nomination of a man from Georgia (applause), that section of our country long known in story and song for its good citizenship, resources, fidelity and loyalty.

Its progress has attracted the attention and admiration of the world, inspired the most exalted eloquence, the most touching devotion and the sweetest melodies that ever fell from human lips. (Applause.)

A section that has always led in physical, intellectual and moral reforms such as have made our homes happier, our schools better and our entire nation a better place in which to live. (Applause.)

I want to especially call your attention to the fact that in the charter of the state of Georgia the first prohibition plank in

America was written (applause), and that state has led the nation in this reform. (Applause.)

Georgia gave to us the first college ever established for the higher education of women, and today graduates from that institution are in every state, and this same state gave to us the first university for the higher education of men. (Applause.)

That state has given to us some of the greatest Americans of our history. There lived Alexander Stephens, John B. Gordon, that great man and general whose memory is loved everywhere, Benjamin H. Hill, and the beloved southern statesman, Henry W. Grady (applause), the sweet-tongued orator that blended in harmony and love the citizenship from the flowers of Florida to the snows of Maine and from the Statue of Liberty to the Golden Gate; that caused the tune of Dixie to thrill the minds, hearts and souls of men and women everywhere, the same as it does those of the sons and daughters of the Southland.

A beloved martyr of Democracy sojourned in this state at Rome, Georgia, in his early law practice and gathered ideals that helped to make of him the immortal Woodrow Wilson. (Applause.) Today this state has a son reared under this environment, schooled in the arts of good citizenship and progress and is fit at this time to become President of the United States, and from this section that has been neglected for these many years in the selection of our Presidents.

This man has always stood four square with all the world, fair, sound, able, and the equal in oratory and statesmanship to the lamented Grady. His service has been such in his state that he has been called a step higher each time, and has answered faithfully his highest call, as he is now their United States senator.

Today the Democracy of our country and the citizens of our country are saying, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." (Applause.)

This man in that highest office of all the world would be true to all classes of men, special privileges would die the death that knows no awakening and his lips would not remain silent and he could not keep cool with corruption in his cabinet. (Applause.)

This man could not see farmers with the galling yoke of oppression upon their necks driven from his convention hall, and as President he would never, with a stroke of the pen, blot out their only hope during an administration. But on the other hand would be fair and extend equal consideration to all classes. (Applause.)

Today we hear the nation calling a Cincinnatus from the plow, a man to the presidency fitted by experience, with a mind turned



MRS. HENRY MOSKOWITZ

Member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic  
National Committee and Director of Publicity



with equal rights toward all, a heart throbbing for justice to all classes and with a soul for a Christian nation. (Applause.)

The call is to Democracy, it comes from the washerwoman over her tub, from the rank and file of business, from the corn fields of the North, from the wheat fields of the West, and from the cotton fields of the South.

I second the nomination for President of the United States of a son of the sunny South, the growing idol of Democracy, and the rising star of the nation, Walter F. George of Georgia. (Prolonged applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: Oregon.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: I introduce to the convention the Honorable Bert E. Haney of Oregon.

MR. BERT E. HANEY (of Oregon): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, My Fellow Citizens: I come from the far Northwest, from the land where rolls the Oregon, bearing the mandate of the Democracy of my state, expressed in a free and open primary, wherein the candidate whose nomination I shall second received more votes than both of the opponents together. The people of my state feel that there is one question which over-towers every other question before the American people today, and that is the question of what shall be done with the last of our great natural resources, the hydro-electric power of our state.

We have sat by and seen our lambs stolen; we have seen our timber plundered, and we do not intend to stand by and see this, the last of our great national resources, pillaged by the night riders of special privilege. (Applause.)

Now, we believe that the man who is most apt and best able to insure public ownership of the hydro-electric property, if elected to the presidency, is governor of New York. (Applause.)

My state, an agricultural and lumber state, with little urban population, recognizes in the governor of New York the only hope of liberalism in the world today. He speaks a language that we understand. We judge him by his works. We deem him to be a worthy successor of that long line of Democratic leaders beginning with the founder of the party and running down to that fair champion, that honest knight, who carried our banner four years ago, John W. Davis. (Applause.)

We join our southern brethren in paying tribute to Georgia's Jackson banner, and recognize in our candidate one who adopts Jackson's own words, "The Constitution, it must be and shall be preserved." (Applause.)

Al Smith of New York is a good man, a good friend, a good husband and a good father. He is a good governor, a good Demo-

crat, and he would be a good President of the United States. (Applause.)

Oregon seconds the nomination of the Governor of New York, the only successful, liberal Democrat available to the position today. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue the call of the roll by states.

THE READING SECRETARY: South Carolina. (No response.) South Dakota. (No response.) Tennessee.

MR. H. B. MCGINNIS (of Tennessee): Tennessee yields to South Carolina.

MR. R. S. STEWART (of South Carolina): South Carolina yields to Texas.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair now presents to the convention the Honorable Thomas H. Ball of the state of Texas. (Prolonged applause.)

#### JESSE H. JONES PLACED IN NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT BY MR. BALL

MR. THOMAS H. BALL (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this great Democratic Convention: Imperial Texas, with her imperial domain and her imperial Democratic majority, thanks the great state of South Carolina for yielding in order that we may present a candidate to this convention.

I would not, if I could, take part of the time of this convention by paying too much of my respects to the Republican Party. If I had it in me, after listening to the wonderful indictment and philippic of that great scholar and historian, the temporary chairman of this convention, I would feel how impotent I was other than to say those are my sentiments.

I haven't the power of humor and the eloquence of tongue of my good friend, the senator, formerly of Oklahoma, whom the Lord has given an inspiration and an insight to more than most of us, with eyes that see not.

Because of the fact that we are the hosts of this convention and of any Republicans that are in attendance thereon, I can only say in the dignified language of that Book, they have done those things which they ought not to have done, and they have left undone those things which they ought to have done, and there is no more help in them.

But I find it indeed difficult to join in that forgiving prayer, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," because I am entirely sure they were fully appraised of the things which they have done.

Now I shall bring to the ear of this audience no eulogy upon

the great state where I had the privilege of being born. Texas, like Massachusetts, needs no encomium. Here she stands in all of her wondrous glory and resources, with her crown jewels of her splendid and patriotic citizenship. We have long since passed the day and stage when we might have been jealous of one of our sister states. We are patting them all on the back now for second place.

Now, my friends, I desire, without unnecessary consumption of time, and in obedience to the demands and commands of my state and our state to say that the empire state of Texas is a dry state, and for a dry candidate. (Applause.) And as a result of one of the most largely attended precinct primaries and county conventions in this great state of ours, we were commanded to voice the wishes of Texas in this convention.

Texas does not believe that the Democratic Party is a prohibition party; Texas does not believe that the Democratic Party is a pro-church party, but Texas does believe that the prohibition question, having been placed in the Constitution of Texas and of these United States, that there ought to be no division among constitutional Democrats as to where their duty lies. (Applause.) From the dawn of its history the Democratic Party has stood for the Constitution as the sheet-anchor of our liberties and upon which we must in the last rely for the protection of our life, liberty, property, freedom of the press and freedom of religion.

In Texas it is not necessary to say that Texas stands for religious liberty. Texas has had that in its Constitution from the beginning, and all Texans know that it is in the Constitution of the United States, and we know further that not only did the founder of our party place it upon his own epitaph, as the author of religious freedom, but we know that Catholic Lord Baltimore passed a law in the Colony of Maryland before the statute of religious freedom was written.

So we take that as an accomplished guarantee that we can have no religious intolerance here; but we do not believe in intolerance to the Constitution of Texas and of the United States. (Applause.) We have on every hand a thousand times more attacks upon the organic law of Texas and of the United States than we do upon any branch of the Christian religion.

Now, let's get this in our minds and in our hearts. If we are to take advantage of the great opportunity before us to win, let's cease this talk of religious proscription and quit muttering about the eighteenth amendment. (Applause.) Let's accept it as a fact that this government guarantees religious liberty and it has gone out of the liquor business just the same as it has gone out of the slavery business. (Applause.)

Now I have no unkind word to say of any Democrat whose name has been presented to this convention, because I have no unkind thought in my heart as to any of these candidates. (Applause.) I have said nothing, and will say nothing, about any candidate of this convention, because I expect when the choice of this convention is made to follow the Democratic flag as I have all the days that have gone before. (Applause.)

I do not need to say that to the people of Texas, but, as for me, I am one of those who know that upon the preservation of the Democratic Party depends whether or not the unprivileged classes shall continue to be represented in this country of ours. (Applause.)

I have been privileged to represent Texas, in part, at every national convention since 1892, save one. I was, in the old days, privileged to see the great men who have passed away, and my heart saddens in a measure today because I sigh for the voices of many that are still, and I long for the touch of many vanished hands. But there are others yet to carry on, and I am confident that there will be men who come after us, and women, who understand the difference between Hamiltonism and Jeffersonism, which is simply the difference as to whether the government shall be maintained in the interest of the masses or the classes. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, Texas does not desire to stampede this convention. We do not expect, in presenting our choice, to ask that any effort shall be made further than to give the nomination of our candidate respectful consideration. We do not wish to appeal to your emotions. We only present a plea to your intelligence.

Texas is not afraid that any candidate before this convention will violate his oath of office if nominated (applause); but Texas does believe that a candidate who believes in the eighteenth amendment will have a better chance to make it effective than one who is embarrassed by the support of the men who seek to destroy and discredit it. (Applause.)

Now, if we are for the enforcement of the Constitution in all of its parts and desire to go into a campaign to turn the rascals out, let's go in with a leader who believes in the Constitution, not because it is there, but because he feels behind it his heart as well as his pen.

I was almost persuaded, and I know that if that great son of Tennessee shall be the nominee of this convention, that Texas will give him, as it will give whoever is the nominee, its electoral vote. (Applause.) But why not make it easier for the Democracy of the nation, with prohibition, farm relief and turning the rascals out, the only three things that the people are talking about? Why not settle the matter by taking a Texan from old Tennessee with the fortitude of Andrew Jackson in his tall and sun-crowned stat-

ure, with the broad humanity for all mankind, with his benevolence in all his walks of life? His bare feet have trod the soil, he has worked with his hands, and has made a great success in the business world, but in all the towering structures which mark his genius and his business ability, the hand of labor has never laid down a tool because of not being given a living wage. (Applause.)

You ask if he is a friend of the farmer. He has tilled the soil, and we Texans know what the farmers not only demand, but deserve, and he comes from a state that always responds to the relief which the farmers demand and which they now so grievously desire.

Texas has made no mistake in her judgment. Texas listened to the wonderful eloquence of that great orator Cockran at one o'clock at night, when he pleaded with us not to overthrow the organized Democracy of New York by forcing Grover Cleveland upon them, but Texas stood and carried the day, and helped to nominate that great Democrat and represented the great Empire State against her wishes. Again Texas stood for that greatest of Presidents, in my judgment—and I except none of them. I have revered the memory of Washington, and that of the founder of our party, Jefferson, and I have nothing except admiration and reverence for Abraham Lincoln, but I think that the greatest gift that Texas ever gave to the world was when she stood at Baltimore and gave this country and the world Woodrow Wilson. (Prolonged applause.) I was glad that I was there to be an humble instrument in assisting in that great work.

Now, it is needless for me to trespass further upon your time. I say to you that if the choice of Texas now presented to you be the choice of this convention, he will bring a great mind to deal with the tremendous problems of government; he will bring a great heart, an understanding heart, sympathetic with our problems, and he will bring a patriotism that no man questions. When the tocsins of war sounded and the business men were going and offering their services to our great war President, our candidate did not seek the places of favor. He was content to be made director-general of the Red Cross military activities, and to him, and to me as his friend, having looked upon the great hurrah when Dewey, the victor, returned from Manila, I looked with more pride upon the picture of Woodrow Wilson and Jesse H. Jones of Texas marching down Fifth Avenue of the great city of New York, with their procession of Red Cross nurses, than to all others. (Applause.)

Now, that is he whom I present to the calm deliberation of this convention, tall in stature, sun-crowned, he stands erect in patriotic thought and duty and thinking, and I commend to you

the choice of Texas, and tell you that if he be the choice of this convention he will be as well equipped to go forth to victory as any candidate that you can present to this country of ours, the Honorable Jesse H. Jones of Texas. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising and parading with the standards of various states.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will please come to order.

Unanimous consent was requested of the convention that Mrs. Lee Roundtree of Texas may make a seconding speech. Is there objection? The chair hears none, and takes pleasure in presenting Mrs. Roundtree of Texas.

MRS. LEE ROUNDTREE (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Democrats of America in Convention Assembled: It was always to their own early story of small beginnings, sturdy forebears and heroic deeds of lyric value that nations have ever turned to give inspiration to their youth and guidance to their elders, and to keep a small room in their own soul, sweet above the market chatter and clean as a fine sweet shrine.

So we today, the Democrats of America in convention assembled, may take guidance from the nation and turn our minds back to our own early story of small beginnings, and find inspiration there to steer us, to prove ourselves worthy of our past history.

Ours is a wonderful history. How resplendent are the names of Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. In recalling these names let it remind us that the Democracy that we enjoy today was made possible because this group of patriotic, liberty-loving people stood as a united band, letting no differences separate them, or prejudices fostered by the demagogue divide them, but concentrated to one common cause, with a common purpose, with no other ambition but the serving of their country and the aiding of their people, and creating in the heart of every man and woman a perfect love for their names.

So it is my honor to present to you a man who has the qualifications to fill the high office of President of the United States. Today let us learn in that college of these pioneer patriots of Democracy, let us learn of their indomitable will for right, of their unswerving adhesion to principle and their unerring championship of everything that was beneficial to the government and to humanity, and above all, their tenacity in safeguarding these privileges and making them possible for all the people rather than for the favored few.

It is the name of Texas' most illustrious son that I present to this convention as having the qualifications for filling this office, the highest office in the gift of the people. He has honesty—not honesty counted in dollars and cents, but that honesty that makes

one alert to discern right from wrong and justice from injustice, that honesty which makes one quick to recognize a sinister foe against the forces of right. He has the quality of leadership, born in the state of Tennessee of poor but good blood, he speaks the language of the people, and he has blazed a trail of his own in the development of the resources of the state of Texas which has been felt throughout this nation; yet he has kept that touch of understanding and sympathy. He has that quality of courage—not physical courage, but moral courage, that he will promote that which is unpopular until it becomes popular because he believes it is right.

Under his leadership the forces of this great American Democracy can unite without compromise, but he has stood for those things which we are pledged to support. He is not asking special favors for the farmer, but simply that they have justice, and are put on an equal basis with labor, industry and manufacturing. He has always had the courage to defend equal rights for every citizen, regardless of who he may be. He has had the courage, and it was unpopular in his own state and in this nation, to defend the eighteenth amendment.

And so, Mr. Chairman, it is my honor and pleasure to second the nomination of that illustrious Texan, Jesse H. Jones, for the office of President of these United States. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Consent is asked that the governor of the state of Texas, the Honorable Dan Moody, may have the privilege of seconding a nomination. Is there objection? The chair hears none. The chair takes pleasure in presenting Governor Dan Moody. (Applause.)

#### GOVERNOR MOODY SECONDS NOMINATION OF JESSE H. JONES

GOVERNOR DAN MOODY (of Texas): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: For a long time we have felt that about the biggest thing that was going to come to Texas was the National Democratic Convention. When I stand here this evening and see the faces of these thousands of people assembled from the various portions of the United States, their presence representing the great Democratic Party of this nation, it seems that our hopes and our expectations have been realized in the fullest degree. I am sure that this is the greatest thing that has yet come to our great state. (Applause.)

If I should undertake to speak a word of welcome to you at this late hour on behalf of the state of Texas, I grant you that there might be someone in this audience who would rise and say that I welcomed you a little late. I know that in Houston and in

Texas you have found a welcome because it was prepared for you; it was intended that you should feel it when you reached our border and that you should feel it as long as you remain in our state. We are glad that you are here. We further recognize the fact and acknowledge that your presence here is largely due to the influence and activities of one man. Last February we all knew that Mr. Jones had long been connected with the National Democratic Executive Committee. A few of us in Texas, if any there be, had the vision that one day in our beloved Southland and in our beautiful Texas there might assemble the Democratic Party in national convention, but this gentleman had the vision, and success crowned his efforts. We of Texas are grateful to him for what he has done in this respect. We are grateful for you that you accepted the invitation which he extended. Our state convention, when it met, knowing these facts, and knowing also that Mr. Jones had been one of the outstanding citizens and one of the builders of Texas and this beautiful city, that he had been successful in business, that he had been successful in all the affairs of his life, and appreciating him as a man and as a citizen, they presented him to Democracy as the choice of that convention for President. He has now been presented in nomination by Colonel Ball. It affords me great pleasure to take the floor to second his nomination. We present him as the choice of Texas, to the Democracy of the nation, and in placing him before you, we do so knowing that his past record and business achievements, his character as a citizen, will commend him to you. We can commend him to you in the highest of terms. I second the nomination made by Colonel Ball. (Prolonged applause.)

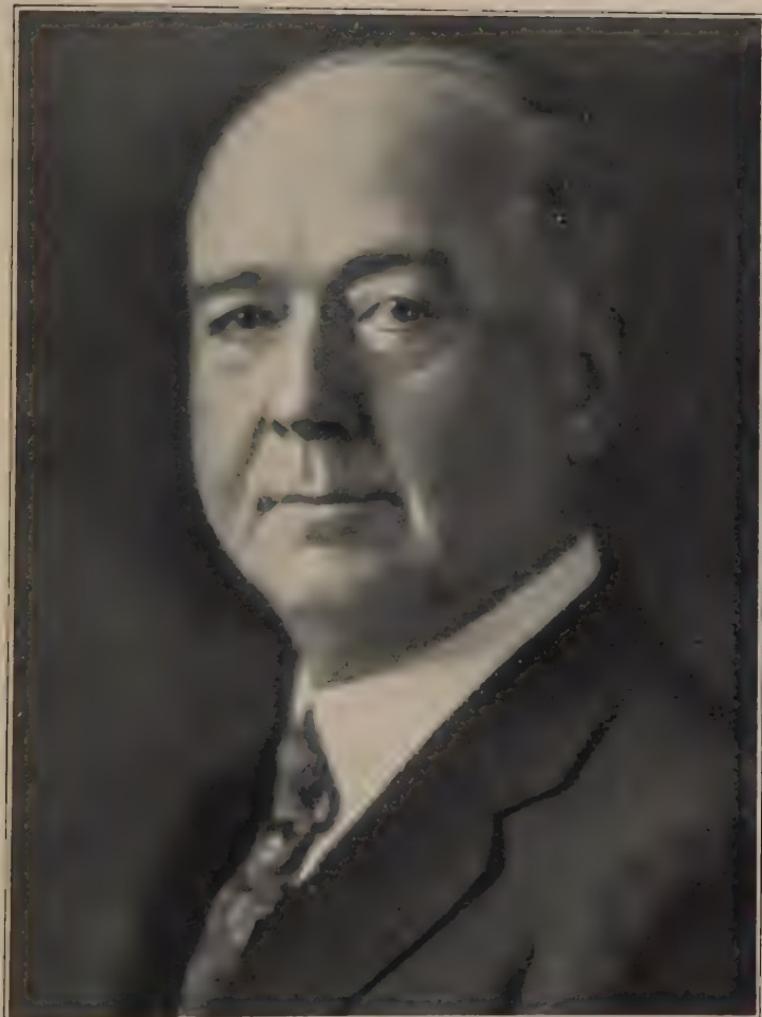
THE READING CLERK: South Dakota. Tennessee.

MR. H. B. McGINNIS (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, Tennessee yields to North Carolina.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Tennessee yields to North Carolina. The chair now presents to the convention the Honorable R. O. Everett.

#### CORDELL HULL SECONDED BY MR. EVERETT

MR. R. O. EVERETT (of North Carolina): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I hope Tennessee will not think, or that Texas will not think, that we are insensible to their great courtesy, if at this time North Carolina does not find itself in position to second the nomination of Mr. Jones. (Applause.) I think if I were to express my personal feelings and the feelings of the balance of the delegates to this great convention, that we would personally like to show our appreciation of the great act of Jesse Jones and of the people of Texas in bringing to this beautiful city the great Democratic National Convention. Men have done less



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RICHARD T. BUCHANAN  
(DECEASED)

Committee Secretary of the Democratic National Committee



who have won their places in the great nation's esteem. The act of bringing to this Southland the united hosts of Democracy will be felt for a great length of time, but it is our duty, as a representative of eight and one-half million voters, whom we represent, who cast ballots in the last election for President, to select a candidate who will meet the requirements and come up to the ideals of the American people. After the tumult and the shouting die, the work of this convention will be submitted to the quiet, second sober thought of the American people. They will consider the candidate we nominate not in the presence or the enthusiasm of the moment, but in the quiet hours of the night when they kneel down to ask God to protect their homes and their nation. It will then be required that the President we present to the nation will have those qualifications that will appeal to all sections of the nation. The candidate will first have to be an individual of character, ability and good judgment. He will secondly have to be a person who fosters that sound Democratic political philosophy that will appeal to the Democratic Party throughout the nation, and, finally, he will have to possess those qualities, those religious and those racial qualities that will meet the standard of the American people.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the gentleman's name whom I am instructed to present to this convention by the great state of North Carolina possesses the qualities personally that appeal to the American people in this one hundredth year since the nomination of Andrew Jackson, whom North Carolina gave to Tennessee. It is fitting and proper that we should go back to that great state to get a standard bearer because Tennessee, in my opinion, comes as near having the composite qualities of the American people as any state in this great Union.

I present to this convention the name of Honorable Cordell Hull. The issue in the coming election, if we are to win the votes of the West and the votes of the South, will be farm relief. Shall we go to the cities to get a candidate who does not understand and can not understand the needs of the farmers of this country, or shall we go out and select a man who was raised in the country, so that he will understand the problems of the farmers and lead them in this great crisis? It is on that alone that we will win. For that reason I present the name again of Cordell Hull. (Applause.)

I say to you, delegates of this convention, that at this time we have to present to the American people as a candidate a man who has the traditions of liberty inherited through his Anglo-Saxon forebears. I say to you further he must possess the traditions that cause him to believe in religious freedom for every man and

that he exacts that right for others that he claims for himself, that is, to worship God as he pleases.

Cordell Hull will meet the requirements of the American people because he possesses those qualities that will enable him to meet squarely the men of his race and of his religious training, belief and faith.

North Carolina takes great pleasure in presenting the name of Cordell Hull for another reason.

This nation is embarking upon the greatest experiment in the history of any nation. We are undertaking in this country to get rid of the demon, rum, which destroys the character of men and the virtue of women. We are not willing to say today that we have made a failure and that we will turn back, but we believe that the American people will command in this crisis that we select as our standard-bearer one who believes, one who practices, one who will enforce the great eighteenth amendment, which is the greatest issue before the American people. (Applause.) I say to you that Cordell Hull is the man and it is my privilege on behalf of the North Carolina delegation to present his name and to second his nomination. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please continue.

THE READING SECRETARY: Utah.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents with pleasure the Honorable William H. King, United States senator from Utah.

#### SENATOR KING SECONDS GOVERNOR SMITH

SENATOR WILLIAM H. KING (of Utah): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention and United Democrats: I shall earn the gratitude of this convention by announcing that I shall speak but a few words and that I shall second on behalf of the delegation from the state of Utah the nomination of that incomparable leader, that great executive, the governor of the Empire State of New York, Alfred E. Smith. (Applause.) He has already been selected by this convention for the high office of President of the United States. The formal act of ratification will be delayed but for a short time. He is the choice of this convention, and he is the choice of a majority of the American people to administer the affairs of our country beginning on the fourth of March, 1929. This convention has demonstrated that there no longer is sectionalism in this Republic; homogeneity, if not complete unity, exists among the people of this nation. The fame and name and achievements of Governor Smith have transcended the boundaries of his own state until his name is a household word, not only in American homes, but in lands beyond the seas. Like an irresistible tide, he

has swept across this continent; from the Atlantic to the Pacific he is known as a great leader in his party, as well as in this nation, and representatives of mighty commonwealths come here and join in paying tribute and honor to one who will be elected in November as President of the United States. Utah, one of the youngest states of the Union, but one not less in devotion to Democratic principles and fidelity to the Constitution, places the standard of her Democratic forces side by side with the standards of other commonwealths and joins with them in acclaiming Governor Smith as the standard-bearer of his party, and the liberal leader of the great hosts of progress and reform which will march to victory in the coming election. (Applause.)

Governor Smith has exemplified in his career those qualities which demonstrate his fitness for important political positions and his capacity for leadership and his knowledge of the questions which our complex civilization requires the highest art of statesmanship to solve. Statesmanship is the application of the fundamental principles of government to the economic and social problems which the world presents. Measured by this standard, Governor Smith is a statesman. As governor, he has achieved most extraordinary results and has been instrumental in promoting the welfare and happiness of the people of his state. He has demonstrated the highest order of executive ability and has exhibited a comprehension of the social, educational and industrial needs of the people scarcely paralleled in the history of our country. One of his pre-eminent qualities is his conception that the art of government is to promote individual growth and development and the felicity and welfare of the people without the imposition of a tyrannous bureaucracy or an oppressive paternalism. He, like all true Democrats, believes in the people, in their capacity for self-government, in their possession of those qualities which may be denominated divine, which enables them to reach the highest standards of human perfection.

His honesty, his fearlessness, his high standards of rectitude have appealed to the people of our country. In an age of opportunism he has exhibited great courage and fidelity to what he believed to be right. He has sought to understand the needs of the people and the fields in which the government might operate without impinging upon the liberty of the individual. He has been profoundly interested in education and as a legislator he manifested the deepest concern in every movement for the advancement of the people, educationally, socially and morally. As a result of his integrity, his fidelity to what he conceived to be right, his devotion to the principles of justice and equality, his concentration of the best that was within him to the public weal, he has earned the

confidence of the people of his own state and the confidence of the people of our country. (Applause.)

While the state of Utah today pays tribute to the great leaders of the Democratic Party and to those whose names are before this convention for the high office of chief executive of this Republic, and recognizes their merit and their qualifications to fill the highest office within the gift of the people, nevertheless it is the belief of the Democrats of Utah that, in this crisis, this political and economic crisis, Governor Smith possesses in a pre-eminent degree the combined qualities required to lead the forces of Democracy and justice and progress out of the morass into which our nation has been led by the Republican Party, to the pathway of safety and justice and constitutional government. He speaks for those who have suffered from unjust laws and the sinister forces of predatory wealth and the sordid and cynical materialism which seeks to destroy that fine idealism indispensable to true human progress and to moral and spiritual growth and development. The country needs a leader of courage, a leader of honesty, a leader who does not have a forked tongue, one who has achieved success, who upon political battlefields has won momentous victories for justice and reform, one who is accustomed to success because he deserves success, one who has been, as was beautifully expressed in the nominating speech, a "happy warrior," and who will continue as a fearless champion of the rights of the people; such a leader is found in the governor of the state of New York. The liberal and progressive forces of our country, the great Democratic forces united for victory, will march forward under his leadership to a certain victory. The next President of the United States will be Alfred E. Smith, the present Democratic governor of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE READING CLERK: Vermont, Virginia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Honorable Claude H. Pollard will second a nomination, and I take pleasure in presenting Mr. Pollard. (Applause.)

MR. CLAUDE H. POLLARD (of Virginia): Mr. Chairman, Friends and Democrats: All the oratory of a Demosthenes or a Wendell Phillips, or even of a William Jennings Bryan, won't make one bit of difference in any of your votes in this convention at this time. So, Mr. Chairman, I shall not infringe or trespass upon your time. I just want to say that I rise in behalf of the Democracy of America to second the nomination of our neighbor and our friend, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Applause.)

THE READING CLERK: Washington.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents to the convention the Honorable Stephen F. Chadwick of Washington.

MR. STEPHEN F. CHADWICK (of Washington): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I will be a three-minute man. At this hour in the homes of the people of the state of Washington, there are thousands, as throughout the nation there are millions, average citizens of our country, listening in on the deliberations of this convention.

The word goes out to rich and poor, to super-hetrodyne and crystal set, through national broadcast, history is being made in the homes of the people.

In my state is a great lumber industry with thousands dependent upon it. From a party that advocates protection, none has been received.

In my state there is a great and diversified agricultural industry with thousands dependent upon it. From a party that has for years promised scientific relief, none has been forthcoming.

In my state there are thousands of ex-service men and their dependents. From a party that has promised justice, only over presidential vetoes and by Democratic votes has justice been accomplished.

In my state there are thousands of young men and young women to whom the idealism of youth has not been lost. They love and respect our institutions. Their idealism has not been lost, though the avalanche of corruption of a Republican administration has shaken it.

Because some things have been done does not necessarily mean that they have been perfectly done.

The manhood, the womanhood, old and young, are looking for a leader, one who, from the people, is not blind to the people's interests. One who, as a product of a land of equal opportunity, has not fallen into the traps and snares of privilege.

Up from the city streets—into the governorship of an Empire State—a leader of millions (applause), yet one who retains the human touch; one who has friends who love him for the man he is; a man whose record has demonstrated that he can lead through law and legislation, whose reputation is not made out of disaster, but who sees ahead to avoid disasters before they are upon us; one whose honesty, whose sincerity, whose ability, whose patriotism has marked him.

A hard man to find?

No! Three thousand miles from his home state our citizens recognized him. Washington was the first in the West by convention to instruct its delegates for him. (Applause.)

As the embodiment of Democracy he has seized the imagination of a nation.

Having in mind the public virtues of George Washington,

whose name our state proudly bears, Washington seconds the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue to call the roll by states.

THE READING SECRETARY: West Virginia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair introduces Mrs. Nancy M. Mann of West Virginia, who will second a nomination.

MRS. NANCY M. MANN (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman, Men and Women of the National Democratic Convention: Four years ago in Madison Square Garden, a stalwart formation of West Virginia's bravest warriors battled through three long weeks of strenuous warfare, holding fast their line of offense and defense, at last emerging from the conflict glorious, victorious, in presenting to the nation their dearest and their best beloved, a man who was, who is, and evermore shall be, a prince of men, John W. Davis.

Four years have passed, and again West Virginia lifts high her banner—aye, it has never trailed in the dust—for West Virginia recognizes no defeat save the loss of those fine concepts, aims and ideals that make for the greatness of a nation.

Today it is West Virginia's happy privilege to second the nomination of a man who embodies all those qualifications that mark a great leader and commander of men; a man, my friends, to whom the women of the nation may pledge their faith; a man to whom the Christian motherhood of America may plight her allegiance and rest assured that that fealty will never be betrayed; a man who holds sacred and inviolate the Constitution of the United States; a man who not only will strictly enforce the eighteenth amendment, but will rejoice in the opportunity of bringing prohibition into its highest hope of fulfillment; a man who recognizes that the highest exalted position that America holds among the nations is due not alone to her material wealth and prosperity, but to her spiritual achievements.

Mr. Chairman, Men and Women of the National Democratic Convention, it is West Virginia's proud pleasure to second the nomination of Senator George of Georgia. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the Honorable Camden S. Taney of West Virginia, who will second a nomination.

MR. CAMDEN S. TANEY (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Democrats: I will be a minute man. (Applause.) I would not be here now to take up your time except that I wish to put West Virginia straight before this convention. (Applause.)

In the name of a two-thirds majority of the Democracy of West Virginia, and on behalf of the delegation who sit in this conven-

tion from West Virginia, I wish to second the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents the Honorable Samuel T. Spears of West Virginia to make a nomination.

SAMUEL T. SPEARS OF WEST VIRGINIA PLACES HUSTON THOMPSON OF COLORADO IN NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

MR. SAMUEL T. SPEARS (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Democratic Convention: I come to present the name of a son of the West whose career, whose personality and whose achievements in the realm of constructive Democracy entitle him to be the choice of this great convention for the highest office within the gift of the people.

In the presidential election of 1916, when the result trembled in the balance, and our gallant and knightly leader, Woodrow Wilson, was carrying our banner, it was the West which rallied to his call. The West and the South elected Wilson President, and without these two portions of the country, Democracy, under his leadership, could not have triumphed in that great contest.

And out of this West has come another leader of Democracy and a true disciple of our last great Democratic President. What better test of Democracy can be put to any candidate in this convention than that he bears the stamp of approval of Woodrow Wilson? The name of and fame of Wilson grow by the year, by the month, almost by the day. His giant figure is emerging from the mists of party assault and strife, from the clouds of intrigue and misrepresentation out into the clear sunlight of history, and as the fierce light of history beats down upon his record his fame continues to grow. Already he is the great figure of his time; even now he is the unchallenged leader of the hosts that went through the crucial struggle of the World War. His ideas dominate our time, prevail among the nations of the world and have brought American leadership to the highest pinnacle in world affairs ever known in all our history. Moreover, Wilson has been the lawgiver, the guide and leader of our party. He took Democratic ideals and made them a reality; he forced Democratic principles into laws upon the statute books; he put Democratic platforms into constructive operation as administrative measures in our country and these ideals and these measures have remained to touch and bless the life of the people and to profoundly uplift them in their common welfare.

This greatest Democrat since Jefferson gathered about him a galaxy of brilliant lieutenants and leaders of Democracy—men who learned Democracy at his feet; who sat in his councils; who

absorbed his ideals and who have lived to champion his principles; and of such type and character was and is that man of fine, lofty and mighty intellect and high ideals, that one of the greatest lawyers in America today, the standard-bearer of our party in 1924, the Honorable John W. Davis, a West Virginian. But among them all none stood higher, none stood more loyal to his chief, than the man whose name I now present to you for the presidency.

It was as a student at Princeton in the classes of Woodrow Wilson that he became imbued with idealism and principles of the great statesman-educator. Here in the classic atmosphere of that great American university the friendship of Wilson and him first took root and here was begun that early association of mutual tastes, ideals and traits of character which later ripened into a deep and enduring friendship; a friendship that Wilson was only too proud to acknowledge and confirm when by his own hand he elevated this man to a position of national prominence in public affairs and in the administration of the Wilson policies at Washington.

This man was appointed to the Federal Trade Commission in 1918, and it is interesting to know that this appointment came to him by radio while President Wilson was on the George Washington en route to Paris. He served on that body eight years, and brought to that position rare ability and marked success. He led the fight against the United States Steel Corporation in what became famous as the Pittsburgh Base Plus case. He led the fight against the Minnesota Chamber of Commerce in its attempt to destroy the Co-operative Wheat Marketing Association of the farmers of North Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin. He was instrumental in making the investigation and bringing forth the facts in a report regarding the aluminum trust, which Senator Walsh made the basis for his fight against this trust in the Senate. He was instrumental in carrying on a successful fight against the "Block-Booking" practice of the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation. He was able, by his dissenting minority report, to focus national attention on the plans of the bread trust when that body sought to monopolize bread manufacture and distribution in this country.

He is an earnest believer in the enforcement of the laws. He has a fine mind, outstanding character and marked executive ability. He has taken high rank as a lawyer at the bar in Washington and is favorably known in the highest legal circles, having argued more than fifty cases in the Supreme Court of the United States. He is an orator of marked ability and brings a ringing message carrying conviction to those who hear him.

Everything he has achieved has been by his own unaided



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**SENATOR HARRY B. HAWES**

Director of Central Regional Headquarters at St. Louis of the  
Democratic National Committee



efforts. He is a typical self-made man and, like other men who are now on the national horizon as presidential possibilities, he has achieved public distinction by the force of his character and ability, and in all parts of the nation he is recognized as a leading force in the Democratic Party and the champion of public welfare.

Through every hour of Wilson's administration, through every fight carried on by our now departed leader against special privilege and corporate greed, this man stood by his side. In the last public appearance of our last Democratic President, my candidate stood by his side in his failing hours and bore him loyalty and support and at a time when that great soul needed support and assistance. To Woodrow Wilson's last fighting day this man stood loyally by his side, and by that loyalty my candidate has earned the undying enmity of the great masters of special privilege; the hostility of the favored classes who fatten on the special privileges given them by the Republican Party, while the poor man, like Lazarus, starves on the crumbs from their table.

He is in the prime of life; in the full measure of manly strength and power. He has achieved national distinction by his courage against great odds as a foe of privilege. His fighting idealism has made him a marked man before the nation.

His career will appeal to young men and women; his manliness will challenge every foe of right; his ideals and his eloquence will command the admiration and support of the common people of the nation.

To such a man the West should pay its tribute of leadership.

I believe the great Democratic Party is at this time facing a tremendous crisis, a crisis that can not be met by superficial enthusiasm, but can only be met by sober thought, sound judgment and a sacred adherence to the fundamental principles and high ideals. Democracy can never survive if she champions the wrong side of another great moral issue.

National in his outlook, international in his vision, and sustained by the lifelong association and example of his great chief, Huston Thompson can carry our banner to victory.

I therefore place Huston Thompson of Colorado in nomination for President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents Mr. George A. Jagerson of Wisconsin, who will make a brief seconding speech.

MR. GEORGE A. JAGERSON (of Wisconsin): Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Representing the great state of Wisconsin in this convention, we seek the very distinctive honor of seconding the nomination of the next President of the United States. It is not our purpose to stop here, but on

November sixth we will again be honored by selecting electors who will cast their votes for Governor Alfred E. Smith. (Applause.)

Wisconsin is for him because of his progressive legislative record in all matters which are for the best interests of all the people. The people of this nation realize the necessity of selecting a man for the presidency who is eminently qualified to fulfill the duties of this great position with honor not only to himself but to his party.

Let us turn back to honest government, establish a business administration such as has been in evidence in the Empire State during all of the administrations of our candidate, and we can assure you that when he is inaugurated as our next President, he will establish a business administration and not a sales agency, such as was established by the Republican Party in 1920.

New York has furnished this nation with a multiplicity of brilliant men, and today we appreciate greatly the honor of seconding the nomination of this great governor, this great American, this honest man, Honorable Alfred E. Smith. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: District of Columbia.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents the Honorable John B. Colpoys of the District of Columbia.

MR. JOHN B. COLPOYS (of the District of Columbia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: The nearest approach which the residents of the District of Columbia, the capital of the great Republic, have to a voice in the affairs of our government is that which is accorded to them in being represented by delegates to the conventions of the two dominant political parties.

By the same measure of comparable justice as exemplified between the Republican and Democratic parties, the great party of Jefferson, Jackson and Wilson grants us voteless residents six votes in their convention, to two votes accorded in the convention of the Republican Party. This same difference typifies in as forcible an example as the other differences which exist on all questions affecting the accorded privileges of the classes against the rights of the masses, for the interests and aspirations of the masses are accorded just three times as much consideration in the Democratic Party as is accorded to them in the Republican Party.

We have in the District of Columbia a population of 550,000 people, which surpasses in numbers the population of several of the states of this country, and while we pay the same taxes and are subject to the same duties of citizenship as the citizens of the balance of our country, we are denied any voice whatsoever in

governmental affairs. The members of Congress act as our legislative body, with the President acting as our governor and mayor, without us having a voice in their selection. This is wholly un-American. We hope to correct this intolerable injustice through a plank in our platform embodying the following words, "We favor national representation for the residents of the District of Columbia."

The man you will nominate tonight will become not only your and our President, but he also becomes our governor and our mayor, so it makes us more vitally interested in his election by reason of this anomaly.

What a relief it will be to us residents of the District of Columbia to have as governor a man of such wide sympathies on questions of humanity, with such a profound concept of the aspirations of the every-day man and the every-day woman to succeed the cold, calculating human iceberg with which we have been afflicted for the past six years.

I have been actively and prominently identified with organized labor of this country for the past decade and a half, and, while I would not presume to speak as their official spokesman, I feel confident in making the prophecy that the great majority of the four million members of the American Federation of Labor, together with the other voting members of their families, will be found in the front line trenches from now until election day, fighting for the election of Governor Al Smith. (Applause.)

And so well they might be, when the record of Governor Smith is compared with the record of his opponent, Herbert Hoover. The difference between these two men was ably epitomized the other day by Senator Edwards of New Jersey, when he said that Hoover was interested in the machine as a means for the betterment of humanity, while Al Smith was interested in humanity for the betterment of the machine.

Paraphrasing this thought further, let me say that Governor Smith's first thought is for humanity, while Herbert Hoover's first thought is for the machine. Give me the man who measures every question with a thought to having the human equation first, in preference to the man who thinks first in terms of cold steel, with the human equation subordinate to it.

My friends and delegates to this convention, let me make this prediction, that in the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith to the most exalted position of trust in the world today, the great mass of our people will have a champion of their rights that will bring this country nearer the ideals of its founders in their intent to have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. (Prolonged applause.)

If, after eight years of the most gigantic saturnalia of corruption and graft, with a standard-bearer such as this convention will nominate, the people can not be aroused to their highest civic duty by turning these rascals out, then I, with you, have only the utmost sorrow and fear for my country.

The District of Columbia takes much pleasure in seconding the nomination of Governor Alfred E. Smith. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will continue the call of the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Hawaii.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair takes pleasure in presenting Honorable W. H. Heen of Hawaii. This speaker will second a nomination, and his address will be brief.

#### W. H. HEEN OF HAWAII SECONDS ALFRED E. SMITH

MR. W. H. HEEN (of Hawaii): Mr. Chairman, Fellow Americans All: Thirty years ago representatives of the American government came to our native land, Hawaii; they lowered our native flag and raised in its place the Stars and Stripes of the American people. (Applause.)

The Hawaiians of those days resented this act on the part of the United States, but as time went by they saw that they had not been made a subject people, and in the light of that realization they gladly assumed the obligations of American citizenship.

Eleven years ago, when the United States was plunged into the awful cataclysm of the World War, boys of Hawaiian ancestry rushed to join the colors. They did not wait to be drafted. They enlisted in the army; they enlisted in the navy; they sailed overseas, and many of them made the supreme sacrifice on the battle-fields of France. (Prolonged applause.)

Now, we have come to believe that we are as good and patriotic Americans as you will find anywhere. (Applause.) And in the matter of loyalty to the Stars and Stripes we Hawaiians of today yield to no other group of Americans, racially, sectionally or otherwise. Before leaving our home to come here we scanned the political field throughout the length and breadth of the United States, and, looking from a distance, and with the advantage of a proper perspective, we saw one figure that loomed upon the political horizon above any other, and, ladies and gentlemen, we believe that that one is the most potent candidate that the Democratic Party can select as its standard-bearer in the next presidential election. (Applause.)

The delegation from Hawaii was instructed by unanimous vote to support that outstanding figure. We traveled thousands of miles, coming from the Paradise of the Pacific to the magnificent

Lone Star State of the Union, and we have come as one man to vote for only one man, and that man is Alfred E. Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

On behalf of the delegation and the Democracy of Hawaii I have the honor to second the nomination of Governor Smith of New York. (Prolonged applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: Philippines. (No response.) Porto Rico. (No response.) Panama Canal Zone. (No response.) Virgin Islands. (No response.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: There have been presented to the chair, with the request that he place them before the convention, a large number of petitions. In order to save time the chair will read this petition (reading):

"We, the undersigned, legal Democratic voters of sixteen southern states, do hereby record and respectfully submit to you this, our solemn protest against the nomination, by the Democratic Party, for the presidency or vice-presidency of the United States, of any candidate who has declared himself in favor of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead Act, enacted thereunder; as also any candidate who is not fully committed to the principle of the complete prohibition of the liquor traffic, and the enforcement of all laws enacted to that end, which is now the established policy of the American people and nation."

With this petition are submitted the original papers showing the protest and the names of the persons signing the petition. It is stated that these protests come from southern states. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: How many signed them, Mr. Chairman?

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: In reply to the question of the delegate, it is stated that the petition represents a population of more than six and a quarter million and a voting personnel of not less than one million.

The chair presents a delegate from New York, Mr. Norman H. Davis.

MR. NORMAN H. DAVIS (of New York): Mr. Chairman, I propose that the convention adjourn until eight-thirty tonight.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion of the delegate from New York.

The question was taken and the motion agreed to.

Whereupon a recess was taken until 8:30 p. m., June 28, 1928.

## THIRD SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,

HOUSTON, TEXAS,

June 28, 1928,

8:30 o'Clock P. M.

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The convention will please come to order. The persons in the aisles will remain standing and be silent.

The Reverend E. P. West, pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Houston, Texas, will deliver the invocation. The Reverend E. P. West.

**THE REVEREND E. P. WEST:** Our heavenly Father, Thou art God infinite and God over all. The heavens declare Thy glory, the earth is filled with the wonders of Thy handiwork. Thou hast created all things and Thou governest what Thou hast created.

We invoke Thy divine blessing upon this session of a great convention, meeting in the happy circumstances of peace to deliberate upon the national felicity and the well being of all the people.

We would humbly come into Thy holy presence, through Jesus Christ, with thanksgiving and with praise. We acknowledge Thy gracious hand in the bestowal of all blessings. We thank Thee for the gift of Thy Son, who is the way, the truth, the life. We thank Thee for Thy love that hath been vouchsafed throughout the illustrious history of this nation. We thank Thee for the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night that overshadowed and guided the founders of the Republic, from whose adorable hands we have received the rich heritage of the liberty, the government, the ideals, the opportunities of this present great day.

We beseech Thee for a continuation of Thy mercies upon us. Be Thou our Ruler, Guardian, Guide and Stay; may Thy wisdom be our law and Thy paths our way. Teach us that righteousness exalteth a nation; sin is a reproach unto any people. That the house of the wicked shall be overthrown, while the tabernacle of the righteous shall be exalted.

Grant unto Thy servants, assembled in national convention, understanding, vision, courage and strength to build wisely and well upon the bulwarks of the fathers. Give a commanding unity of purpose in patriotic service. May there be no North, nor South, nor East, nor West, but one flag and one country and one great destiny for this beloved land. Save us from unworthy motives; deliver us from selfish aims, shield us from war and pestilence. By Thy strong arm keep us unwaveringly in the path of duty, and fill our lives with love and grace divine. This is our prayer in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The next order of business is receiving the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The chair recognizes the delegate from Nevada, the Honorable Key Pittman, chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

#### SENATOR PITTMAN PRESENTS PLATFORM

**SENATOR KEY PITTMAN** (of Nevada): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Your Committee on Platform and Resolutions has completed its work, and may I, as chairman of that committee, pay a compliment to its members? I have never before had the pleasure of serving with such sincere and courteous gentlemen on any Committee of Resolutions. The representatives of the farmers, labor, business, the veterans, and women's associations, in fact, every association that desired to express itself before you with regard to proposed planks of the platform, were given all of the time that they asked. They aided materially in the framing of those planks.

There were questions, of course, on which there was difference of opinion, but notwithstanding the intense and serious debate that took place in the committee, there was not an unkind word or discourteous expression by one member of the committee to another. We had little difficulty in agreeing upon all of the planks of this platform, with possibly the exception of the plank on agriculture and the plank dealing with alcoholic beverages. In determining the forms and expressions of the agricultural plank, we called in the farm leaders and the leaders of all of the great farm organizations that were represented here at this convention. I may say to you that those leaders are largely responsible for this agricultural plank, and it has received their entire endorsement. (Applause.)

The farmers of this country have told your committee, through their representatives, that they have received the sympathetic attention and consideration that they expected at the hands of a Democratic Convention. (Applause.)

There is not a single complaint by the representatives of these organizations against any word or line or phrase in this agricultural plank. This is the first time in many years that agriculture has been thoroughly understood by a convention, and that the representatives of such industry have been sympathetically received and have gotten what they were entitled to. (Applause.)

While this plank, when it is read to you, will not disclose that it is in favor of any particular legislation—because it is not—you will instantly recognize that it admits the problem involved in

co-operative marketing and pledges the Democrats in Congress and our candidate nominated here to solve that problem.

There was just one other plank with regard to which there was, naturally, a difference. There was a sincere difference between sincere Democrats with regard to that plank. Different environments, different conditions, bring about different results and different schools of thought. There is no member of the committee that doubted the sincerity of those who believe that prohibition in its present form has reached probably the height of perfection. There was no doubt of the sincerity of others, from other localities, who have had different experiences, who contended that the laws that exist in their localities do not appeal to them as meeting the success that was anticipated.

It became evident, after a short executive session, that there were the three viewpoints represented with regard to this question. There were those who do not believe that the Volstead Act has been a success and has brought about the temperance that was intended. There were those there who felt that the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act had accomplished their purpose. There were others there who realized that at this time it is absolutely impossible for the Democrats of one section of this country to agree with the Democrats of another section of this country on that particular question. Those who realized that also recognized that this was not the dominant issue before the country today. They felt that there could be no excuse for the division of the great hosts of Democracy who are called upon today to restore to the people of this country their government, and consequently they desired that this question should not be considered as a national Democratic Party issue. (Applause.) And so, as the hours of the nights and the days wore on, as these different groups of thought commenced to understand the position and viewpoint of the other groups, there was a softening, there was a more kindly feeling, and so those who understood both groups commenced to gain, and in the long run, that committee, by an almost unanimous vote, determined that there were higher issues, more sacred issues, more far-reaching issues than the question of prohibition. (Applause.) And so those intense delegates from New York and the New England cities, and the large cities of our country, who have supported to a great extent one viewpoint, yielded, for the sake of harmony, and those loyal Democrats who have inherited the principles of Jefferson from another section of this country, where prohibition is recognized as a success, also yielded for the benefit of the success of the Democratic Party. (Applause.) And it was a great prohibitionist, a great Democrat, a former secretary of the



FRED JOHNSON

Director of Western Regional Headquarters at Salt Lake City  
of the Democratic National Committee



treasury in the great administration of Woodrow Wilson, that came forward as a peacemaker in this great emergency. He, in the fullness of his heart, came before that committee, and he said, "I don't ask to make the Democratic Party a prohibition party; I don't think that anyone should ask to make the national party a wet party. Let us only pledge our officers to support the Constitution and the laws of this country so long as the people allow them to be the laws of this country." (Applause.)

And I may say that there was no hesitation on the part of any man to support that plank, except there were some who were afraid that possibly the pledge to enforce the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act might commit them to the maintenance forever of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act, might prevent them from expressing their opinion against the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act, might place them in an inconsistent position. But then it was that the great senator from Virginia, Carter Glass, freely and frankly stated that the pledge to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States does not carry with it any commitment in favor of any constitutional amendment or any law, but simply the binding effect to support that law and that Constitution so long as it is the Constitution and law of this country. When he had made it clear that this pledge to support the Constitution and laws of this country did not prevent an officer, or even a President of the United States, from recommending the repeal of an amendment or the modification of any act, so long as he supported it while it was a law, then there was no cause for fear. (Applause.) And he told them that this did not affect the opinions nor the expressions nor the acts of any dry or any wet, or any citizen or any officer, but only bound the officer to do those things that he is bound to do under his sworn oath of office—that he will honestly and sincerely support both the Constitution of the United States and its laws as they exist.

The platform which the chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is authorized to report to the convention will be as follows. Before reading the platform, however, I will read a resolution which will appeal to every man and woman in this convention. (The Wilson resolution, referred to here, was made the beginning of the platform.)

(The proposed platform as finally adopted was then read as follows, in part by the chairman of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Mr. Key Pittman of Nevada, in part by the reading secretary, Mr. P. J. Haltigan of the District of Columbia,

and in part by Mr. Michael L. Igoe of Illinois, secretary of the committee.)

### DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM

We, the Democratic Party in convention assembled, pause to pay our tribute of love and respect to the memory of him who in his life and in his official actions voiced the hopes and aspirations of all good men and women of every race and clime, the former President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. His spirit moves on and his example and deeds will exalt those who come after as as they have inspired us.

We are grateful that we were privileged to work with him and again pay tribute to his high ideals and accomplishments.

We reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

We hold that government must function not to centralize our wealth but to preserve equal opportunity so that all may share in our priceless resources; and not confine prosperity to a favored few. We, therefore, pledge the Democratic Party to encourage business, small and great alike; to conserve human happiness and liberty; to break the shackles of monopoly and free business of the nation; to respond to popular will.

The function of a national platform is to declare general principles and party policies. We do not, therefore, assume to bind our party respecting local issues or details of legislation.

We, therefore, declare the policy of the Democratic Party with regard to the following dominant national issues:

#### The Rights of the States

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. These constitute a bulwark against centralization and the destructive tendencies of the Republican Party.

We oppose bureaucracy and the multiplication of offices and officeholders.

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government, without which free institutions can not be preserved.

#### Republican Corruption

Unblushingly the Republican Party offers as its record agriculture prostrate, industry depressed, American shipping destroyed, workmen without employment; everywhere disgust and suspicion, and corruption unpunished and unafraid.

Never in the entire history of the country has there occurred

in any given period of time or, indeed, in all time put together, such a spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality as that which has characterized the administration of federal affairs under eight blighting years of Republican rule. Not the revels of reconstruction, nor all the compounded frauds succeeding that evil era, have approached in sheer audacity the shocking thieveries and startling depravities of officials high and low in the public service at Washington. From cabinet ministers, with their treasonable crimes, to the cheap vendors of official patronage, from the purchasers of seats in the United States Senate to the vulgar grafters upon alien trust funds, and upon the hospital resources of the disabled veterans of the World War; from the givers and receivers of stolen funds for Republican campaign purposes to the public men who sat by silently consenting and never revealing a fact or uttering a word in condemnation, the whole official organization under Republican rule has become saturated with dishonesty defiant of public opinion and actuated only by a partisan desire to perpetuate its control of the government.

As in the time of Samuel J. Tilden, from whom the presidency was stolen, the watchword of the day should be: "Turn the rascals out." This is the appeal of the Democratic Party to the people of the country. To this fixed purpose should be devoted every effort and applied every resource of the party; to this end every minor difference on non-essential issues should be put aside and a determined and a united fight be made to rescue the government from those who have betrayed their trust by disgracing it.

#### Economy and Reorganization

The Democratic Party stands for efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs and we pledge:

- (a) Business-like reorganization of all the departments of the government.
- (b) Elimination of duplication, waste and overlapping.
- (c) Substitution of modern business-like methods for existing obsolete and antiquated conditions.

No economy resulted from the Republican Party rule. The savings they claim take no account of the elimination of expenditures following the end of the World War, the large sums realized from the sale of war materials, nor its failure to supply sufficient funds for the efficient conduct of many important governmental activities.

#### Finance and Taxation

- (a) The Federal Reserve system, created and inaugurated under Democratic auspices, is the greatest legislative contribution to constructive business ever adopted. The administration of the

system for the advantage of stock market speculators should cease. It must be administered for the benefit of farmers, wage earners, merchants, manufacturers and others engaged in constructive business.

(b) The taxing function of governments, free or despotic, has for centuries been regarded as the power above all others which requires vigilant scrutiny to the end that it be not exercised for purposes of favor or oppression.

Three times since the World War the Democrats in Congress have favored a reduction of the tax burdens of the people in face of stubborn opposition from a Republican administration; and each time these reductions have largely been made for the relief of those least able to endure the exactions of a Republican fiscal policy. The tax bill of the session recently ended was delayed by Republican tactics and juggled by partisan considerations so as to make impossible a full measure of relief to the greater body of taxpayers. The moderate reductions afforded were grudgingly conceded and the whole proceeding in Congress, dictated as far as possible from the White House and the treasury, denoted the proverbial desire of the Republican Party always to discriminate against the masses in favor of privileged classes.

The Democratic Party avows its belief in the fiscal policy inaugurated by the last Democratic administration, which provided a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the nation's indebtedness within a reasonable period of time, without harassing the present and next succeeding generations with tax burdens which, if not unendurable, do in fact check initiative in enterprise and progress in business. Taxes levied beyond the actual requirements of the legally established sinking fund are but an added burden upon the American people, and the surplus thus accumulated in the federal treasury is an incentive to the increasingly extravagant expenditures which have characterized Republican administrations. We, therefore, favor a further reduction of the internal taxes of the people.

#### Tariff

The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

(a) The maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor.

(b) Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

(c) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding tariff commission, quasi-judicial and

free from the executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer, must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

(e) Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

(f) Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

Wage-earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general have everything to gain from a Democratic tariff based on justice to all.

#### Civil Service

Grover Cleveland made the extension of the merit system a tenet of our political faith. We shall preserve and maintain the civil service.

#### Agriculture

Deception upon the farmer and stock raiser has been practiced by the Republican Party through false and delusive promises for more than fifty years. Specially favored industries have been artificially aided by Republican legislation. Comparatively little has been done for agriculture and stock raising, upon which national prosperity rests. Unsympathetic inaction with regard to this problem must cease. Virulent hostility of the Republican administration to the advocates of farm relief and denial of the right of farm organizations to lead in the development of farm policy must yield to Democratic sympathy and friendliness.

Four years ago the Republican Party, forced to acknowledge the critical situation, pledged itself to take all steps necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture and other industries and labor. Today it faces the country not only with that pledge unredeemed but broken by the acts of a Republican President, who is primarily responsible for the failure to offer a constructive program to restore equality to agriculture.

While he has had no constructive and adequate program to offer in its stead, he has twice vetoed farm relief legislation and has sought to justify his disapproval of agricultural legislation partly on grounds wholly inconsistent with his acts, making industrial monopolies the beneficiaries of government favor; and in endorsing the agricultural policy of the present administration the Republican Party, in its recent convention, served notice upon the

farmer that the so-called protective system is not meant for him; that while it offers protection to the privileged few, it promises continued world prices to the producers of the chief cash crops of agriculture.

We condemn the policy of the Republican Party which promises relief to agriculture only through a reduction of American farm production to the needs of the domestic market. Such a program means the continued deflation of agriculture, the forcing of additional millions from the farms, and the perpetuation of agricultural distress for years to come, with continued bad effects on business and labor throughout the United States.

The Democratic Party recognizes that the problems of production differ as between agriculture and industry. Industrial production is largely under human control, while agricultural production, because of lack of co-ordination among the 6,500,000 individual farm units, and because of the influence of weather, pests and other causes, is largely beyond human control. The result is that a large crop frequently is produced on a small acreage and a small crop on a large acreage; and, measured in money value, it frequently happens that a large crop brings less than a small crop.

Producers of crops whose total volume exceeds the needs of the domestic market must continue at a disadvantage until the government shall intervene as seriously and as effectively in behalf of the farmer as it has intervened in behalf of labor and industry. There is a need of supplemental legislation for the control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses, in order that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop. Labor has benefited by collective bargaining and some industries by tariff. Agriculture must be as effectively aided.

The Democratic Party in its 1924 platform pledged its support to such legislation. It now reaffirms that stand and pledges the united efforts of the legislative and executive branches of government, as far as may be controlled by the party, to the immediate enactment of such legislation, and to such other steps as are necessary to establish and maintain the purchasing power of farm products and the complete economic equality of agriculture.

The Democratic Party has always stood against special privilege and for common equality under the law. It is a fundamental principle of the party that such tariffs as are levied must not discriminate against any industry, class or section. Therefore, we pledge that in its tariff policy the Democratic Party will insist upon equality of treatment between agriculture and other industries.

Farm relief must rest on the basis of an economic equality of agriculture with other industries. To give this equality a remedy must be found which will include among other things:

(a) Credit aid by loans to co-operatives on at least as favorable a basis as the government aid to the merchant marine.

(b) Creation of a federal farm board to assist the farmer and stock raiser in the marketing of their products, as the Federal Reserve Board has done for the banker and business man. When our archaic banking and currency system was revised after its record of disaster and panic under Republican administrations, it was a Democratic Congress in the administration of a Democratic President that accomplished its stabilization through the Federal Reserve Act creating the Federal Reserve Board, with powers adequate to its purpose. Now, in the hour of agriculture's need, the Democratic Party pledges the establishment of a new agricultural policy fitted to present conditions, under the direction of a farm board vested with all the powers necessary to accomplish for agriculture what the Federal Reserve Board has been able to accomplish for finance, in full recognition of the fact that the banks of the country, through voluntary co-operation, were never able to stabilize the financial system of the country until government powers were invoked to help them.

(c) Reduction through proper government agencies of the spread between what the farmer and stock raiser gets and the ultimate consumer pays, with consequent benefits to both.

(d) Consideration of the condition of agriculture in the formulation of government financial and tax measures.

We pledge the party to foster and develop co-operative marketing associations through appropriate governmental aid. We recognize that experience has demonstrated that members of such associations alone can not successfully assume the full responsibility for a program that benefits all producers alike. We pledge the party to an earnest endeavor to solve this problem of the distribution of the cost of dealing with crop surpluses over the marketed units of the crop whose producers are benefited by such assistance. The solution of this problem would avoid government subsidy, to which the Democratic Party has always been opposed. The solution of this problem will be a prime and immediate concern of a Democratic administration.

We direct attention to the fact that it was a Democratic Congress, in the administration of a Democratic President, which established the federal loan system and laid the foundation for the entire rural credits structure, which has aided agriculture to sustain in part the shock of the policies of two Republican administrations; and we promise thorough-going administration of our rural credits laws, so that the farmers in all sections may secure the maximum benefits intended under these acts.

### Mining

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron and copper than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture. Mining has suffered like agriculture, and from similar causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

### Foreign Policy

The Republican administration has no foreign policy; it has drifted without plan. This great nation can not afford to play a minor role in world politics. It must have a sound and positive foreign policy, not a negative one. We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

- (a) Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism.
- (b) Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations.
- (c) Protection of American lives and rights.
- (d) Non-interference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of non-interference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua and all other Latin-American nations. Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries must cease.
- (e) Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.
- (f) International agreements for reduction of all armaments and the end of competitive war preparations, and, in the meantime, the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.
- (g) Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.
- (h) In our foreign relations this country should stand as a unit, and, to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.
- (i) Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate, as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the administration for carrying out such



Underwood & Underwood

**COLONEL EDWIN A. HALSEY**  
Sergeant-at-Arms of the Democratic National Committee  
and of the Houston Convention



an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua.

(j) Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors. We shall seek their friendly co-operation in the maintenance of this doctrine.

(k) We condemn the Republican administration for lack of statesmanship and efficiency in negotiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over ten thousand tons. Merely a gesture towards peace, it accomplished no limitation of armament, because it simply substituted one weapon of destruction for another. While it resulted in the destruction of our battleships and the blueprints of battleships of other nations, it placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under ten thousand tons, poisonous gases or other weapons of destruction. No agreement was ratified with regard to submarines and poisonous gases. The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva Conference of 1928 was characterized by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure:

In consequence, the race between nations in the building of unlimited weapons of destruction still goes on and the peoples of the world are still threatened with war and burdened with taxation for additional armament.

#### **Waterpower, Waterways and Flood Control**

The federal government and state governments, respectively, now have absolute and exclusive sovereignty and control over enormous waterpowers, which constitute one of the greatest assets of the nation. This sovereign title and control must be preserved respectively in the state and federal governments, to the end that the people may be protected against exploitation of this great resource and that waterpowers may be expeditiously developed under such regulations as will insure to the people reasonable rates and equitable distribution.

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean.

We favor the fostering and building up of water transportation through improvement of inland waterways and removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels are essential to the safety of life and property, and the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams, the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands. We favor expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississ-

sippi and Colorado rivers and such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found feasible.

We favor appropriations for prompt co-ordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and waterpower development on navigable streams and their tributaries and to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of waterpower.

We favor the strict enforcement of the Federal Waterpower Act, a Democratic act, and insist that the public interest in water-power sites, ignored by two Republican administrations, be protected.

Being deeply impressed by the terrible disasters from floods in the Mississippi Valley during 1927, we heartily endorse the Flood Control Act of last May, which recognizes that the flood waters of the Mississippi River and its tributaries constitute a national problem of the gravest character and makes provision for their speedy and effective control. This measure is a continuation and expansion of the policy established by a Democratic Congress in 1917 in the act of that year for controlling floods on the Mississippi and Sacramento rivers. It is a great piece of constructive legislation, and we pledge our party to its vigorous and early enforcement.

#### Conservation and Reclamation

We shall conserve the natural resources of our country for the benefit of the people and to protect them against waste and monopolization. Our disappearing resources of timber call for a national policy of reforestation. The federal government should improve and develop its public lands so that they may go into private ownership and become subjected to taxation for the support of the states wherein they exist. The Democratic administration will actively, efficiently and economically carry on reclamation projects and make equitable adjustments with the homestead entrymen for the mistakes the government has made, and extend all practical aid to refinance reclamation and drainage projects.

#### Transportation

Efficient and economical transportation is essential to the prosperity of every industry. Cost of transportation controls the income of every human being and materially affects the cost of living. We must, therefore, promote every form of transportation to a state of highest efficiency. Recognizing the prime importance of air transportation, we shall encourage its development by every possible means. Improved roads are of vital importance not only

to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and rural life. The federal government should construct and maintain at its own expense roads upon its public lands. We reaffirm our approval of the Federal Roads Law, enacted by a Democratic administration. Common carriers, whether by land, water or rail, must be protected in an equal opportunity to compete, so that governmental regulations against exorbitant rates and inefficiency will be aided by competition.

### Labor

(a) We favor the principle of collective bargaining, and the Democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representatives without coercion or interference.

(b) Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws.

(c) We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. No injunctions should be granted in labor disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury and after notice and hearing and the injunction should be confined to those acts which do directly threaten irreparable injury. The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

(d) We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to laws of the latter state, as though they had been produced therein.

### Unemployment

Unemployment is present, widespread and increasing. Unemployment is almost as destructive to the happiness, comfort and well-being of human beings as war. We expend vast sums of money to protect our people against the evils of war, but no governmental program is anticipated to prevent the awful suffering and economic losses of unemployment. It threatens the well-being of millions of our people and endangers the prosperity of the nation. We favor the adoption by the government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of unemployment appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far as consistent with public interests, of government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise.

Study should also be made of modern methods of industry and

a constructive solution found to absorb and utilize the surplus human labor released by the increasing use of machinery.

#### **Accident Compensation to Government Employees**

We favor legislation making fair and liberal compensation to government employees who are injured in accident or by occupational disease and to the dependents of such workers as may die as a result thereof.

#### **Federal Employees**

Federal employees should receive a living wage based upon American standards of decent living. Present wages are, in many instances, far below that standard. We favor a fair and liberal retirement law for government employees in the classified service.

#### **Veterans**

Through Democratic votes, and in spite of two Republican Presidents' opposition, the Congress has maintained America's traditional policy to generously care for the veterans of the World War. In extending them free hospitalization, a statutory award for tuberculosis, a program of progressive hospital construction, and provisions for compensation for the disabled, the widows and orphans, America has surpassed the record of any nation in the history of the world. We pledge the veterans that none of the benefits heretofore accorded by the Wilson administration and the votes of Democrat members of Congress shall be withdrawn; that these will be added to more in accordance with the veterans' and their dependents' actual needs. Generous appropriations, honest management, the removal of vexatious administration delays, and sympathetic assistance for the veterans of all wars, is what the Democratic Party demands and promises.

#### **Women and Children**

We declare for equality of women with men in all political and governmental matters.

Children are the chief asset of the nation. Therefore their protection through infancy and childhood against exploitation is an important national duty.

The Democratic Party has always opposed the exploitation of women in industry and has stood for such conditions of work as will preserve their health and safety.

We favor an equal wage for equal service; and likewise favor adequate appropriations for the women's and children's bureau.

#### **Immigration**

Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the provisions contained in these laws that separate

husbands from wives and parents from infant children are inhuman and not essential to the purpose or the efficacy of such law.

### Radio

Government supervision must secure to all the people the advantage of radio communication and likewise guarantee the right of free speech. Official control in contravention of this guarantee should not be tolerated. Governmental control must prevent monopolistic use of radio communication and guarantee equitable distribution and enjoyment thereof.

### Coal

Bituminous coal is not only the common base of manufacture, but is a vital agency in our interstate transportation. The demoralization of this industry, its labor conflicts and distress, its waste of a national resource and disordered public service, demand constructive legislation that will allow capital and labor a fair share of prosperity, with adequate protection to the consuming public.

### Congressional Election Reform

We favor legislation to prevent defeated members of both houses of Congress from participating in the sessions of Congress by fixing the date for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election.

### Law Enforcement

The Republican Party, for eight years in complete control of the government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled in its national platform to promise obedience to a provision of the federal Constitution, which it has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the Congress of the United States. Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the eighteenth amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto.

### Campaign Expenditures

We condemn the improper and excessive use of money in elections as a danger threatening the very existence of democratic institutions. Republican expenditures in senatorial primaries and elections have been so exorbitant as to constitute a national scandal. We favor publicity in all matters affecting campaign contributions and expenditures. We shall, beginning not later than August 1, 1928, and every thirty days thereafter, the last publication and filing being not later than five days before the

election, publish in the press and file with the appropriate committees of the House and Senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amounts expended and the purposes for which the expenditures are made, and will, at all times, hold open for public inspection the books and records relating to such matters. In the event that any financial obligations are contracted and not paid, our National Committee will similarly report and publish, at least five days before the election, all details respecting such obligations.

We agree to keep and maintain a permanent record of all campaign contributions and expenditures and to insist that contributions by the citizens of one state to the campaign committees of other states shall have immediate publicity.

#### **Merchant Marine**

We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

The Democratic Party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country, and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines. We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies, when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that can not now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacement of others.

We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our services in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or sections of our country.

We oppose such sacrifices and favoritism as exhibited in the past in the matter of alleged sales, and insist that the primary purpose of legislation upon this subject be the establishment and maintenance of an adequate American merchant marine.

#### **Armenia**

We favor the most earnest efforts on the part of the United States to secure the fulfillment of the promises and engagements made during and following the World War by the United States and the allied powers to Armenia and her people.

#### **Education**

We believe with Jefferson and other founders of the Republic

that ignorance is the enemy of freedom and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education.

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice, results of research and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

#### **Monopolies and Anti-Trust Laws**

During the last seven years, under Republican rule, the anti-trust laws have been thwarted, ignored and violated so that the country is rapidly becoming controlled by trusts and sinister monopolies formed for the purpose of wringing from the necessities of life an unrighteous profit. These combinations are often formed and conducted in violation of law, encouraged, aided and abetted in their activities by the Republican administration and are driving all small tradespeople and small industrialists out of business. Competition is one of the most sacred, cherished and economic rights of the American people. We demand the strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of other laws, if necessary, to control this great menace to trade and commerce, and thus to preserve the right of the small merchant and manufacturer to earn a legitimate profit from his business.

Dishonest business should be treated without influence at the national capitol. Honest business, no matter its size, need have no fears of a Democratic administration. The Democratic Party will ever oppose illegitimate and dishonest business. It will foster, promote and encourage all legitimate business enterprises.

#### **Canal Zone**

We favor the employment of American citizens in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal in all positions above the grade of messenger and favor as liberal wages and conditions of employment as prevailed under previous Democratic administrations.

#### **Alaska—Hawaii**

We favor the development of Alaska and Hawaii in the traditional American way, through self-government. We favor the appointment of only bona fide residents to office in the territories. We favor the extension and improvement of the mail, air mail, telegraph and radio, agricultural experimenting, highway construction, and other necessary federal activities in the territories.

### Porto Rico

We favor granting to Porto Rico such territorial form of government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island, and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate statehood accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

### Philippines

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

### Public Health

The Democratic Party recognizes that not only the productive wealth of the nation but its contentment and happiness depends upon the health of its citizens. It, therefore, pledges itself to enlarge the existing Bureau of Public Health and to do all things possible to stamp out communicable and contagious diseases, and to ascertain preventive means and remedies for these diseases, such as cancer, infantile paralysis and others which heretofore have largely defied the skill of physicians.

We pledge our party to spare no means to lift the apprehension of diseases from the minds of our people, and to appropriate all moneys necessary to carry out this pledge.

### Conclusion

Affirming our faith in these principles, we submit our cause to the people.

## THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS.

KEY PITTMAN, Chairman,  
MICHAEL L. IGUE, Secretary,  
CHAS. E. JACKSON, Asst. Secretary,  
R. EARL PETERS, Asst. Secretary.

## DISCUSSION OF PLATFORM COMMITTEE REPORT

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, the governor of Texas, the Honorable Dan Moody. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. DAN MOODY (of Texas): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: I occupy the rather unfortunate position, not of rep-

resenting the minority, but rather of being the minority myself. The platform which you have just heard read contains a plank on law enforcement mentioning the eighteenth amendment and pledging the party to the enforcement of all provisions of the Constitution and laws passed pursuant thereto. For some time in the committee we have been debating and discussing this question. The authorship of the plank as presented belongs to Senator Glass of Virginia. (Prolonged applause.)

In obedience to the dictates of my own judgment and conscience, and instructions of my state, I have advocated a plank endorsing the eighteenth amendment, declaring opposition to any attempt to repeal it or to destroy the prohibition law and pledging the party to a program of faithful, vigorous and effective enforcement, believing that any political party can afford to endorse any part of the Constitution of the United States, and more especially any part concerning which any question might be raised. The plank adopted by the committee, which has been read to you, has the endorsement not only of Senator Glass, a lifelong prohibitionist, a man whose service in that cause can not be questioned, but it has also been approved by Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Church, who argued for it before the committee, and also more than that, is approved by former Secretary Josephus Daniels. (Applause.) I make this statement, gentlemen, without any petulance or bitterness, and I say this recognizing the situation, that I accept the matter and that I shall not carry the minority report to a poll. (Applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the delegate from Maryland, Governor Ritchie. (Prolonged applause.)

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE (of Maryland): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I want to take advantage of this opportunity to express very briefly my views, which I think reflect the views of the Maryland delegation.

MR. BRYAN (of Tennessee): Point of order.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

MR. BRYAN (of Tennessee): There is no ballot before the house for discussion.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair overrules the point of order. The report of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform is before the convention. The delegate from Maryland has been recognized and will proceed.

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE (of Maryland): It is a strange thing in the presence of a Democratic gathering that Maryland may not be permitted to express its Democratic opinion on this point. I do not know whether you remember it or not, but Mary-

land was founded nearly three hundred years ago, and when she was founded the patriots of the state of Maryland gave to our country and to the waiting world two new fields of thought. One of those was in the field of government, and the other was in the field of religion. (Applause.)

In the field of religion, Maryland, founded by men who came over to escape persecution of an old world, gave birth to the doctrine that the way to get tolerance for your own ideas is to give tolerance to the ideas of others. (Prolonged applause.) And out of that grew the doctrine that afterward was written into the Constitution of our land, that this was to be a land of religious freedom.

And the other great contribution which Maryland made was not in the field of religion, but it was in the field of government, and that was that laws should never be imposed without the consent of the governed and that gave rise to the great Jeffersonian and American doctrine of local self-government. (Applause.)

Those two doctrines became written into the Constitution of our land, and I claim that the representative of any sovereign state which gave them to our country is entitled to be heard by a Democratic convention. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.)

Now I am for, and the Maryland delegation will be for this report of the Resolutions Committee on this subject. (Applause.) It does not meet the views which I hold about it entirely any more than it may meet the views which others hold about it entirely. To my mind the way to handle the subject is to return to the principles which the South, more than any other section of our land, and which Jefferson, more than any other statesman of all times, gave to the world, the principle of state determination, local option and home rule. (Prolonged applause.)

Without arguing the pros and cons of it, the few additional words which I wish to say to you are spoken simply as a Democrat, a Democrat who believes first of all in the gospel of Democracy, and who believes that any sincere and fair-minded men, in accordance with the historic spirit of our party, should be willing to respect each other's differences and achieve harmony and accord; and Maryland will be for this plank and will vote for the majority report, not only in the interest of harmony, but because we believe this clearly leaves both sides of that perplexing controversy to rely on the wisdom and sincerity of the man, whoever he may be, that we put into the highest office in the gift of the people of the land. (Applause.)

I think, as the distinguished chairman of the Resolutions Committee said was the case, that under this plan the way is left open

to find some constructive and intelligent solution, and I place my confidence in the political intelligence, the common sense, the good faith and the patriotism of those who have to work out the solution of this perplexing problem.

And so, fellow Democrats, I appeal for party unity, not alone because in union there is strength and in disunion defeat, but I appeal for it in the interest of those other great issues which are at stake and which mean so much to our country. The Democratic Party is too great and too patriotic to let differences on one great question divert us from the other great issues that are involved.

Let wisdom rule. The common criticism of the Democratic Party is that it can be relied upon to make a fool of itself and dissipate itself in discord and differences. Let us here now disprove that criticism. You would not be the party of Democracy if you did not have differences. Only a party which takes its orders from above can ever move like a well-oiled machine. A party that never differs on vital issues is not a party of progress. It becomes a party of vested interest, sterile, and the party of selfishness and of defeat. It is conflicts of opinion that indicate party life and vitality. So ability to harmonize those conflicts indicates party strength, and therefore I appeal to a Democratic convention for unity, for accord, for subordination of individual judgments and individual predilections. Let wisdom rule. Peace rules the day, where reason rules the mind. Let us have unity. We have become a united nation. Let us be hereafter a united party. East and West we are met as brothers; North and South we are wedded as one, and as brothers in a common cause and brothers in behalf of the great cause of Democracy, let us unite to carry our party to victory. Let us unite to tell its story and keep its glory as pure as of old for a thousand years. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will now hear the delegate from Virginia, the Honorable Carter Glass.

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: It seemed to me woefully unnecessary that I should have a word to say in explanation of so simple and direct a platform declaration on the problem of law enforcement. The platform read to you a while ago contains but two sentences. That the importance of those two declarations may be better understood, I will state that so earnestly and so bitterly was the problem debated that it required the concentrated thought and the earnest effort of some of the best minds of this convention to bring about accord and harmony, where there was for hours and hours discord and discussion.

This declaration can not be by any intelligent person misinterpreted. The first sentence of it is a sharp and merited rebuke to the Republican Party for its failure for eight long years to observe the requirements of a provision of the federal Constitution, which it now promises to observe.

The second declaration is a commitment of the Democratic Party of the country and a pledge in behalf of the nominees of this convention to do promptly and honestly and efficiently that which the Republican Party failed to do. (Applause.)

It is a declaration of such simplicity and of such clarity that any patriotic citizen, be he of whatever political faith, be he wet or dry, can stand upon, and the platform declaration upon which the nominee of this convention must stand, if he shall conscientiously take the office of President of the United States. (Applause.)

It does not commit anybody to the theory of prohibition. (Applause.) It does not constrain or restrain anybody of the opposite opinion. It simply recognizes the fact that the eighteenth amendment is as much a part of the Constitution of the United States as any other provision of the Constitution, and requires that the law enacted in pursuance thereof shall be honestly and uncompromisingly enforced. (Applause.)

#### PLATFORM ADOPTED

Now, Mr. Chairman, I move that the platform which has been read to the convention be immediately adopted, and upon that motion I ask the previous question. (Applause.)

The previous question was ordered.

The question was then taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Senator Ransdell of Louisiana is recognized.

SENATOR JOSEPH E. RANSDELL (of Louisiana): Mr. President, I am delegated to introduce to you, sir, a body of young ladies from the state of Louisiana who wish to present to you this gavel made from a limb of the Evangeline Oak, in the little city of St. Martinsville, Louisiana, an oak more than four hundred years old. This gavel was carved from the wood of that tree by an old gentleman ninety-seven years of age with a pen-knife. It is being presented by representatives of a number of young women of Louisiana: Miss Mabel Roy, Miss Monita Gary, Miss Florence Streeter, Miss Louise Goff, Miss Lucille Newlin, Miss Edith Wright, Miss Connie Anding, Miss Joyce Wyble, Miss Marie McCrory, Miss Edeinne Edwards, Miss Mildred Dessens, Miss Nina Langlinais, Miss Mildred Shell, Miss Susie Anding, Miss Pearl Anding, Miss Mabel Landry, Miss Theo Pierson, Miss Gilpen

Fournoy, Miss Beatrice Richard. Chaperones, Mrs. A. A. Anding, Mrs. L. U. Babin and Mrs. Erin B. Nolan.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair wishes to express his thanks to the young ladies from Louisiana and to the delegates from Louisiana.

The next order of business is calling the roll for the nomination of the President of the United States. (Applause.)

The convention will be in order. Under the rules that we are proceeding under, it is not in order to interrupt the calling of the roll. The secretary will call the roll of states.

#### BALLOTTING UPON THE SELECTION OF A NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

(The reading secretary proceeded with the roll call of states upon the first ballot, as follows:)

Alabama, 24. George, 8; Hull, 6; Woollen, 2; Jones, 3; Donahay, 4; Smith, 1.

Arizona, 6. Smith, 6.

Arkansas, 18. Smith, 17; Reed, 1.

California, 26. Smith, 26.

Colorado, 12. Smith, 12.

Connecticut, 14. Smith, 14.

Delaware, 6. Smith, 6.

Florida, 12. George, 12.

Georgia, 28. George, 28.

Idaho, 8. Smith, 8.

Illinois, 58. Smith, 56; Reed, 2.

Indiana, 30. Woollen, 30.

Iowa, 26. Smith, 26.

Kansas, 20. Ayres, 20.

Kentucky, 26. Smith, 26.

Louisiana, 20. Smith, 20.

Maine, 12. Smith, 12.

Maryland, 16. Smith, 16.

Massachusetts, 36. Smith, 36.

Michigan, 30. Smith, 30.

Minnesota, 24. Smith, 24.

Mississippi, 20. Harrison, 20.

Missouri, 36. Reed, 36.

Montana, 8. Smith, 8.

Nebraska, 16. Hitchcock, 16.

Nevada, 6. Smith, 6.

New Hampshire, 8. Smith, 8.

New Jersey, 28. Smith, 28.

New Mexico, 6. Smith, 6.

New York, 90. Smith, 90.  
North Carolina, 24. Smith, 4½; Hull, 19½.  
North Dakota, 10. Smith, 10.  
Ohio, 48. Pomerene, 47; Smith, 1.  
\*Oklahoma, 20. Smith, 10; Reed, 8; Hull, 2.  
Oregon, 10. Smith, 10.  
Pennsylvania, 76. Donahey, 1; Thompson, 1; Hull, 2½; Smith,  
70½; Reed, 1.  
Rhode Island, 10. Smith, 10.  
South Carolina, 18. Watts, 18.  
South Dakota, 10. Smith, 10.  
Tennessee, 24. Hull, 24.  
Texas, 40. Jones, 40.  
Utah, 8. Smith, 8.  
Vermont, 8. Smith, 8.  
Virginia, 24. Hull, 18; Smith, 6.  
Washington, 14. Smith, 14.  
West Virginia, 16. Thompson, 1; George, 4½; Smith, 10½.  
Wisconsin, 26. Smith, 26.  
Wyoming, 6. Smith, 6.  
Alaska, 6. Smith, 6.  
District of Columbia, 6. Smith, 6.  
Hawaii, 6. Smith, 6.  
Philippines, 6. Smith, 6.  
Porto Rico, 6. Smith, 6.  
Canal Zone, 6. Smith, 6.  
Virgin Islands, 2. Smith, 2.

\*The poll of the Oklahoma delegation, as recorded by the stenographers, shows 10½ for Smith, 7½ for Reed and 2 for Hull. The vote as given by the permanent chairman was the count coming from the tellers. Oklahoma was under the unit rule, and it has been pointed out that had the vote been announced as the stenographers' record of the poll shows it the 20 votes of the state would have gone to Smith.

(When Oklahoma was reached in the calling of the roll, the following proceedings occurred:)

MR. JAMES S. ROSS (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman, I challenge the vote of Oklahoma and ask a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The vote should be first announced before a poll of the delegates can be had. What is the vote announced by the chairman?

MR. C. N. HASKELL (of Oklahoma): Twenty votes for James A. Reed.

MR. JAMES S. ROSS: I demand a roll call.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The vote, as cast, is twenty for Reed. The delegate challenges the vote and the clerk will call the roll of the delegates.

(The Oklahoma delegation was polled, as follows:)

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE

(One-half vote each)

C. N. Haskell, Smith.	James R. Tolbert, Smith.
Lee Cruce, Hull.	John J. Harden, Smith.
Thomas P. Gore, Reed.	James S. Ross, Smith.
James R. Armstrong, Reed.	John A. Simpson, Reed.

DISTRICT DELEGATES

First District

(One-half vote each)

J. H. Maxey, Reed.	John Robinson, Reed.
Eugene Wilkerson, Smith.	R. L. Lunsford, Smith.

Second District

(One vote each)

R. M. Mountcastle, Reed.	Harry D. Pitchford, Reed.
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Third District

(One-half vote each)

W. E. Utterback, Smith.	R. P. White, Smith.
John Craig, Smith.	Ed Dunham, Smith.

Fourth District

(One-half vote each)

George Van Noy, Smith.	Ed Gooden, Smith.
Scott Glenn, Smith.	E. C. Love, Reed.

Fifth District

(One-half vote each)

Mrs. Wirt Randolph, Reed.	John Lutterel, Smith.
E. E. Glasco, Smith.	Arthur McClure, Reed.

Sixth District

(One-half vote each)

Perry E. Waide, Reed.	F. M. Bailey, Smith.
A. Y. Aycock, Smith.	G. M. Fuller, Reed.

Seventh District

(One-half vote each)

J. A. Carr, Reed.	Sam Brown, Smith.
E. L. Mitchell, Smith.	Alvin Bingham, Smith.

Eighth District  
(One-half vote each)

Felix C. Duval, Smith.	Grover Jordan, Hull.
John Carr, Hull.	Joe W. Howard, Hull.

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** No candidate voted for having received a majority of all the votes cast, the votes will be cast: Smith, 10; Reed, 8; Hull, 2.\*

\*See note on Oklahoma poll, page 206.

(After the roll call, the following proceedings were had:)

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The chair desires to say that a number of delegates have asked recognition, and the chair proposes to recognize them when they are in order.

The chair recognizes the delegate from Ohio, the Honorable Claude Meeker.

**MR. CLAUDE MEEKER** (of Ohio): Ohio wishes to change her vote—45 for Alfred E. Smith.

**THE READING SECRETARY:** Ohio votes 3 for Pomerene and 45 for Smith.

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The chair recognizes the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Homer H. Casteel.

**MR. HOMER H. CASTEEL** (of Mississippi): Mr. Chairman, I want to change the vote of Mississippi. I, as chairman, vote Mississippi 20 votes for Al Smith.

**MR. HUGH V. WALL** (of Mississippi): We ask for a roll call. We challenge that vote.

**THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The vote of Mississippi, as cast, having been challenged, the clerk will call the roll of the delegates of Mississippi.

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE

(One-half vote each)

Theo. G. Bilbo, absent.	Mrs. Sadie Still, Smith.
Pat Harrison, Smith.	Mrs. Ellen Woodward, Harrison.
Hubert Stephens, Harrison.	Mrs. Bidwell Adam, Harrison.
Thomas L. Bailey, Harrison.	Miss Daisy Rogers, Smith.

DISTRICT DELEGATES

First District  
(One-half vote each)

Geo. H. Hill, Harrison.	Dr. J. H. Stone, Harrison.
M. A. Parks, Harrison.	Thos. Fite Paine, absent.

## Second District

(One-half vote each)

Phil Stone, Smith.  
Joe Clay Davis, Smith.

Richard Denman, Smith.  
A. C. Anderson, Harrison.

## Third District

(One vote each)

Lake Roberson, Smith.

W. T. Wynn, Smith.

## Fourth District

(One vote each)

E. G. Whitehead, Smith.

J. R. McLarty, Smith.

## Fifth District

(One-half vote each)

J. O. Eastland, Smith.  
T. Q. Brame, Harrison.

W. L. Clayton, Harrison.  
R. H. Molpus, Harrison.

## Sixth District

(One vote each)

F. C. Hathorn, Harrison.

A. B. Schaeber, Bilbo.

## Seventh District

(One-half vote each)

L. T. Kennedy, Harrison.  
Hugh V. Wall, Harrison.

X. A. Kramer, absent.

(When the name of J. M. Alford was called as alternate for X. A. Kramer, the following proceedings occurred:)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair is informed that J. M. Alford of Tylertown is the alternate for X. A. Kramer of McComb. The chair will hold that the official certificate establishes the right of J. M. Alford to act as alternate, unless a correction or change is made. Is J. M. Alford present?

(Mississippi delegate stated that J. M. Alford was absent.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Then he can not vote. The secretary will call the next name.

(The reading secretary continued the roll call as follows:) Robert Lewis, Harrison.

## Eighth District

(One-half vote each)

Homer H. Casteel, Smith.  
Robert H. Powell, Smith.

J. J. McGraw, Smith.  
Pat Henry, absent.

MR. HOMER H. CASTEEL (of Mississippi): Senator Culkin of

Vicksburg, Mississippi, is the recognized alternate of Judge Pat Henry.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Alternate for Pat Henry, Mrs. E. R. Holmes. Is the alternate, Mrs. Holmes, in the hall with the delegation? She can not vote unless she is present. The chair is compelled to be governed by the certificate on file with the clerk, which shows that the alternate for Pat Henry is Mrs. E. R. Holmes.

(Mrs. E. R. Holmes was not present.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair announces that the poll shows: Smith, 9½; Harrison, 8½; Bilbo, 1. No candidate voted for having received a majority of all the votes cast, the votes will be counted as actually cast, namely, Smith, 9½; Harrison, 8½; Bilbo, 1.

The chair recognizes the delegate from Indiana, Judge Wm. H. O'Brien.

MR. WM. H. O'BRIEN (of Indiana): Indiana votes: Woollen, 5; Smith, 25.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the delegate from Nebraska, Mr. Dahlman.

MR. JAMES C. DAHLMAN (of Nebraska): Nebraska changes 12 votes from Hitchcock to Smith; 2 from Hitchcock to Hull.

THE READING SECRETARY: Nebraska: Smith, 12; Hull, 2; Hitchcock, 2.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the delegate from Kansas, Mr. Muir.

MR. DONALD MUIR (of Kansas): The delegation changes its vote to: Smith, 11½; Ayres, 3; Reed, 4.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: That is only 18½.

MR. DONALD MUIR: The other delegates are absent, and no alternates are here to cast their votes.

THE READING SECRETARY: Kansas: Smith, 11½; Ayres, 3; Reed, 4.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the delegate from Missouri, Mr. Pendergast.

MR. T. J. PENDERGAST (of Missouri): Mr. Chairman, at the request of Senator Reed, and with the consent of the Missouri delegation, I move that we suspend the rules, and that Governor Smith be declared the nominee of this convention by acclamation. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The motion is not in order. The chair recognizes the chairman of the Tennessee delegation.

(A number of delegates from Tennessee demanded a roll call.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair was making a state-

ment. The chair is advised that Tennessee desires to change her vote.

MR. H. B. McGINNIS (of Tennessee): As chairman of the delegation, I ask that you pass us for the moment. I will ask for recognition later.

(After a pause in the proceedings.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chairman of the Tennessee delegation was recognized.

MR. H. B. McGINNIS (of Tennessee): Tennessee desires to cast 23 votes for Governor Smith, and leaves one vote recorded for Hull.

THE READING SECRETARY: Tennessee: Smith, 23; Hull, 1.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The vote will be announced by the delegate from Utah, Mrs. John J. Galligan; please give attention.

MRS. JOHN J. GALLIGAN (of Utah): George, 52½; Woollen, 7; Ayres, 3; Reed, 52; Hitchcock, 2; Hull, 50½; Pomerene, 3; Jones, 43; Thompson, 2; Smith, 849½; Donahay, 5; Harrison, 8½; Watts, 18; Bilbo, 1. Total votes cast, 1,097½. (Prolonged applause.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair announces that Governor Alfred E. Smith, having received more than the required two-thirds vote of this convention, is declared the nominee of the Democratic Party for the office of President of the United States.

(Prolonged applause, the delegates rising and parading.)

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: In order that the news of the ballot may be passed over the radio the chair is advised to again make the statement that Alfred E. Smith, having received 849½ votes, is declared to be the nominee of this convention for the office of President of the United States.

## BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

(As it stood before delegations changed their votes)



STATE	Votes	Smith	Pomerene	Hull	Woollen	George	Ayres	Hitchcock	Harrison	Jones	Watts	Donahey	Thompson
Utah .....	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Vermont .....	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Virginia .....	24	6	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington .....	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia .....	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin .....	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philippines .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canal Zone .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virgin Islands .....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals .....	1100	734 $\frac{2}{3}$	48	47	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	16	20	43	18	5

\*See note on Oklahoma poll, page 206.

## BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

(After delegations had changed their votes)

	Billbo	1
Thompson		
Hitchcock	2	
Pomerene		
Ayres		
Donahay		
Woollen		
Harrison	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Watts		
Jones		
Hull	2	
Rreed		
George		
Smith	28	
Votes	6	
Michigan	30	
Minnesota	24	
Mississippi	20	
Missouri	36	
Montana	8	
Nebraska	16	
Nevada	6	
New Hampshire	8	
New Jersey	28	
New Mexico	6	
New York	90	
North Carolina	24	
North Dakota	10	
Ohio	45	
*Oklahoma	20	
Oregon	10	
Pennsylvania	76	
Rhode Island	10	
South Carolina	18	
South Dakota	10	
Tennessee	24	
Texas	40	

STATE	Votes	George	Smith	Hull	Jones	Watts	Woollen	Donahay	Ayres	Pomerene	Hitchcock	Thompson	Bilbo
Utah .....	8	8	14	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont .....	8	8	10½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia .....	24	6	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington .....	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia .....	16	10½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin .....	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philippines .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canal Zone .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virgin Islands .....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals .....	1100	849½	52½	52	50½	43	18	8½	7	5	3	3	2

\* See note on Oklahoma poll, page 206.

Votes cast, 1097½; not voting, 2½.

Necessary to a choice, two-thirds of votes cast.

## DAVIS AND REED ADDRESS THE CONVENTION

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will please come to order. Unanimous consent is asked that the delegate from New York, the Honorable John W. Davis, and the Honorable James A. Reed of Missouri be invited to come upon the platform and address the convention for thirty minutes each. (Applause.) Is there objection?

The chair hears none. You will be interested to hear the speaker now about to be introduced. He is a faithful Democrat, an able and brilliant man. I take pleasure in introducing to the convention the Honorable John W. Davis of West Virginia and New York. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN W. DAVIS (of West Virginia and New York): Ladies and Gentlemen and My Fellow Democrats: It would be an ill return for your generous unanimous consent if I occupied it for the thirty minutes that the chairman has requested, but I can not deny the opportunity to say a few sentences to this convention. Four years ago, with due deliberation—somewhat prolonged deliberation, I may say, you entrusted me with the banner of your party, and I come tonight not only to thank you for that great honor but to give with gladness the commission with which you entrusted me into the strong and able hands of the man whom you have named. (Applause.) It may well be that under another leader four years ago you would have merely touched the borders of success, but if I am permitted to be present when the historian of the party writes the record of that campaign I shall ask or suggest but one single sentence; if I may touch his pen, I shall ask him to record that in that campaign no great principle of the party was abandoned; that in that campaign no part of the entrenchments behind which the party must reform its broken ranks was given over to the enemy and if the services of your candidate four years ago deserved, as they do not, any reward, that reward will be furnished in fullest measure by the harmony, the unity, and the enthusiasm of this gathering of Democrats. (Applause.) Out of this convention there has come a platform on which any Democrat may stand. By this convention there has been named a man who in character, in ability, in point of public service, deserves and will receive not only the support of the Democratic Party, but the enthusiastic acclaim of the majority of his fellow countrymen.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have but one more word to say, and that word is so old that it hardly needs utterance. I had to call attention to a lesson exemplified by the century-old history of the Democratic Party. We have had our great days and our small;

our days of power and our days of weakness, our days of victory and our days of defeat, and our strength and our power and our victory have come when we stood united, and our weakness and defeat when faction and division had separated and scattered our forces. In unity there is strength. We have a platform and a candidate behind whom all Democrats should rally. Tonight, my fellow Democrats, the order is "Forward, March!" The bugle sounds "Charge!"

Let every Democrat in this convention and throughout the country fall into line.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The convention will now have the privilege of hearing Missouri's great senator, the Honorable James A. Reed. (Applause.)

SENATOR JAMES A. REED (of Missouri): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: If the Democratic Party is as lively in November as it is moving about in the aisles at this present moment, we will have no trouble in outrunning the Republican Party.

This is the most disorderly orderly crowd I ever saw. (Applause.) We have had a contest which ought to have lasted a little longer for the comfort of some of them. (Laughter.) Different elements of our party with different ideas, different hopes and different aspirations have contended. We now have the decision and it is time for the Democrats to quit contending among themselves and to turn their guns and energies against the common enemy. (Applause.)

I want to say at this moment a word of thanks to the friends who have stood with me, to tell them I will never forget their loyalty and the great compliment of their support.

I want to congratulate the great governor of New York, who has won so signal a victory. (Applause.)

I call upon every Democrat in this audience and in the United States who hears my voice, I call upon them tonight, I will call upon them until the last vote is counted on election day (applause), to support the nominees of this convention and by such support to give protection and defense to their country against what I regard as the greatest menace that has occurred during my lifetime. (Applause.)

Since I was eighteen years of age, I have given my time in every campaign to the Democratic Party. My pencil has never been run through a Democrat's name after he was nominated. (Applause.) I have voted for my personal enemies and I have supported platforms that did not entirely suit my views. In fact, so perfect a platform as that has yet to be devised. (Applause.)

But there is a common cause here, there is a cause of more

import than most people understand. We are facing an enemy intrenched, powerful, skilled and unscrupulous. Every difference we may have sinks into insignificance compared with the differences that exist between our party and the Republican Party. (Applause.) We can not all have our way. If everybody insists on having his way in everything, no Democrat will get his way about anything. We have had as fair a convention as has ever been held. (Applause.) No man has the right to complain that he was not heard. No man can say his vote was not counted. In the grand council of the party, we have reached a decision. And the thing for the Democratic army to do now is to "Right dress," and "Forward, March," and continue the march until the Republican Party is driven from power. (Applause.)

May I claim your attention at this late hour to the importance of this campaign. Eight years ago the Republican Party came into power. Eight years before that Mr. Wilson had been elected President of the United States. His first act was to lash the lobbyists from Washington and I helped to do it a little. (Applause.)

The first act of the Harding administration was to invite the lobbyists back. He did not need to invite them. They just came home. (Laughter and applause.) From that day to this the government at Washington has been controlled, not by the people, but by a few special interests and a few selected scoundrels. The cabinet was filled by men, in part at least, by men selected by these interests. They have debauched every department of government, they have stolen the public domain, and worse, and when the Democrats dragged the ugly facts into the light, they remained quiescent and rallied in support of the wretches who had betrayed their country and plundered its resources. I sat in the Senate and heard the facts disclosed, and saw them given to the four winds by the press of this land. Everybody was awake to the situation except the President of the United States and his cabinet, and they were as mum as so many Boston oysters became on the beach in the month of August. (Applause.) No voice of protest came from them, no word of encouragement or denunciation. When the rascality was discovered in Grant's administration, that good old soul lifted his hand and said, "Let no guilty man escape."

Has anybody heard anything like that from Coolidge or from Mr. Hoover? (Applause.)

In the Senate every effort was made by the stand-pat element to protect and shield these gentlemen and when the Senate twice passed resolutions demanding the retirement of Daugherty and Newberry, the President received the resolution with contumely and said that it interfered with his prerogative. If it had not been for the Democrats, aided by the insurgent Republican votes, the

oil lands would today be in the possession of Sinclair and Doheny. Daugherty would still be consorting with the rascals in the Little Green House in Washington. Fall would still be improving his golf links on his ranch one hundred and fifty miles from nowhere, and the Republican Party would have had ample funds because it had ample funds. These iniquities, they tell us, they will tell us, are personal. Crime is personal to the man who commits it, but a man who conspires to the commission of a crime is as guilty as the man whose hand perpetrates it. The man who shields a criminal becomes a particeps criminis, or an accessory before or after the fact, and no man with reason can say that the administration at Washington and the stand-pat element of the Senate have not sustained and upheld every one of these villains wherever it was possible to render them aid, comfort or assistance. (Applause.)

When Daugherty was finally driven from office by public contempt, the President did not ask his resignation because of high crimes and misdemeanors. He asked it because of an inconsequential reason, and gave a certificate of good character, the last he will ever get on earth or any other place. (Applause.) So that iniquity stands there, not as a personal crime, but as a party crime.

Now if you will turn your attention to one other matter. They had collected a corruption fund. They had divided the spoils with Sinclair. They had received it into the sacerdotal hands of Will Hays, where it was properly concealed. Will Hays, the man who was selected to regulate the morals of the American people by censuring the picture shows. (Applause.)

I have been accused of not being a constructive statesman. I have a great constructive thought now. I move that the moving picture industry be required to reinstate Fatty Arbuckle and let him fire Will Hays. (Prolonged applause.)

But there are other things. When the President appointed Mr. Mellon to the office of secretary of the treasury, he appointed him in defiance of a law which made it a misdemeanor for a man to hold that office who was engaged in commerce. At that moment Mr. Mellon was a director in sixty-eight great corporations and trusts. They embraced every line of activity from the presidency of the aluminum trust to the distillation of a very excellent variety of rye whisky; and when I mention Old Overholt the mouths of many sinners in this audience will begin to water.

Why was that statute passed? Why has it been upon the books for seventy-five years? Because it is known that where a man's treasure is, there is his heart also; and the secretary of the treasury is the man who frames the fiscal policies of the government, and if engaged in great business transactions he is liable to be

swerved from his duty. Was this man so swerved; and why did this man take the position?

His first act was to declare that the soldiers' bonus would not be paid for lack of funds. Within thirty days he recommended a reduction in the taxes of millionaires, and millionaires alone, of \$90,000,000 per annum, and \$9,000,000 would have gone to the benefit of the combination with which he was associated. (Applause.) He preferred to keep the money in the pockets of these wealthy men to giving a little of it to the soldiers who had made a wall of flesh and blood between this country and the advancing bayonets of a mighty enemy. (Applause.)

His next act was to insist upon the passage of a tariff bill, the express purpose of which was to maintain war prices upon everything the people bought; and that maintenance of war prices went on when the farmers of this country were being compelled to sell their products upon a broken market of Europe at bankrupt prices, and thus millions of dollars are taken from the pockets of the American people.

I shall not follow this loathsome story further at this time. But let us take up another view and as we take this view, I ask to go back a little in history. I ask the privilege of calling your attention to the fact that the Republican Party has for many years sold itself to the great Mammon interests, not to honest business which everybody wants to protect, but to those business institutions that fatten and batten by virtue of special privilege and of law. Way back yonder it was Matt Quay who said he would fry the fat out of protected industries, and he did for campaign purposes. Every time he got a skillet of fat for his corrupt political machine a hogshead of fat had been taken out of the bodies of the American people.

It was Dudley, secretary of that committee, who sent his emissaries and repeaters into Indiana with instructions to vote them in blocks of five and not pay them until they were certain that they had voted the straight Republican ticket. It was Hanna who gathered a corruption fund so great that they could not expend it, but who employed a considerable part of it to buy colored delegates from the South, and established a precedent that remains unbroken down to the Kansas City convention. (Applause.)

But when we come to the last campaign it was Will Hays who first conceived the scheme, I think, of selling the public domain and of financing the Republican Party out of government bonds that were provided by the man who had stolen these lands from the public.

Let us see how he treated that. Where did he send these bonds? Why did he not take them to a bank and have them

cashed? Because a record would be made, and so he sent \$50,000 of them to Andy. And Andy says he didn't know why they were sent, but there was something suspicious about them and he sent them back; but he sent the check along ahead of them for \$50,000. Why was it that these bonds were farmed out to members of the cabinet of the President? Did the other members of the cabinet know? Did Mr. Hoover, the great internationalist, know? I think he knew. I think they all knew, and I think that all of them were parties to the act. (Applause.)

Bill Nye used to tell the story of Little Alexander. Little Alexander was a pup. He had no discretion, but a very great appetite, and so, discovering a pan of white fluid, he gobbled it up, thinking it was milk, only to discover it was plaster of paris. He curled up and died, and some time afterwards they discovered his remains, with a complete replica of his entire internal apparatus preserved in plaster of paris. His little mistress put him away affectionately with this legend: "Little Alexander, an inside view taken by himself." (Applause.)

My friends, what I have detailed to you tonight is that inside view, but, my Democratic friends, that is an old story. We, you, Democrats everywhere who may be dissatisfied, I want to present you your alternative. I don't know any divided allegiance. There is no such thing in any man. He who undertakes to love two countries is a traitor to both. If this country is good enough to be born in, it ought to be good enough to do business in. When a man leaves this country from choice, and invests his entire fortune and twenty-two years of his life in a foreign land, that man belongs more to that country than he does to this country. (Applause.)

. And so I am challenging attention to that, when a man becomes so popular in England that he is offered a title and a great office under the British government, he must be either a British subject or regarded as fit material for a British subject. (Applause.)

When a man will organize together the allies of Europe before we enter the war for the purpose of entering American markets as a single purchasing agency with the intention of keeping down the prices of American farm products, that man is more interested in England than he is in the United States. (Applause.) When that man will come to this country and organize a purchasing agency here and make a contract with the purchasing monopoly of Europe, and articulate them together, and fix the price on American products at fifty per cent of their real value, that man is a better friend of Great Britain than he is of the American farmer or the American people. (Applause.) When a man with this predilection it is proposed to make President of the United

States, I shudder for the future of my country. If we are to have a Britisher or a man who loves Great Britain more than he loves the United States, in God's good name, and I say it reverently, let us import a thoroughbred Englishman and not a renegade among them. (Applause.)

I do not know what the future may hold, but if Hoover is elected President of these United States, then I say to you no man can tell to what extent he may go, what entanglements we may be involved in, how many troubles or wars may spring out of it. I warn you, and you citizens of the United States, I warn you tonight that the election of Herbert Hoover may be the cause of bloody wars in the future, wars in which we are not concerned. You may call that extreme if you want to, but I say as Washington said, "Friendship with all and entangling alliances with none," and any man who has the sympathy that Mr. Hoover has and the environment that Mr. Hoover has can not be trusted to handle the important foreign relations that this government must be concerned in. (Applause.)

And there is one thing I want to say in conclusion, and that is that the purity of the ballot in America must be protected. Thieves and rascals must not break it. Corruption funds must not control our election. This ballot was bought by the blood of not only the Revolutionary fathers, but every man who died for liberty. It is the source of our law. It is the fountain of all of our justice. It is the one great shield of human liberty, and when we have in the capital a man who proclaims that it is proper to use a party's corruption fund, it is time for the American people to repudiate that act.

This is the hour to begin this fight. Let's make it as brothers and as sisters, as those who believe in great principles. Let us forget every animosity and every difference. Yonder is the enemy. Let the Democratic party marshal for the fray. (Prolonged applause, the delegates rising.)

A DELEGATE FROM ALABAMA: Mr. Chairman, I move we adjourn until 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Will the gentleman withhold his motion for a moment for an announcement or two?

When the chair announced the vote a few moments ago, it could not be heard after the announcement of the vote for Governor Smith. The chair desires to again announce the vote.

Donahey received 5 votes; Harrison, 8½; Watts, 18; Bilbo, 1.

The chair has sent to the nominee of this convention a telegram advising him that he has been nominated by a vote of 849½ on



Blank & Stoller

**JAMES J. HOEY**

Man who predicted within twenty votes the number Governor Smith would receive on the first ballot and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee



the first ballot. The chair took the liberty of extending best wishes for the election of the nominee. (Applause.)

The chair recognizes the delegate from New York.

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (of New York): Mr. Chairman, I move that the convention adjourn until 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The question was taken and the motion prevailed.

## Fourth Day

### FIRST SESSION

SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 29, 1928,  
10:30 o'Clock A. M.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York): The convention will be in order. The prayer will be offered by Rabbi Nathan Blechman of Houston, Texas.

RABBI NATHAN BLECHMAN (Congregation Beth El, Houston, Texas): Our God and God of our fathers: Assembled in party council, but raising our thoughts above partisanship, we humbly invoke Thy further and continued all-sufficient guidance. To the altar of the patriotic service of our glorious, beloved country we have sought to bring the whole-souled, consecrated idealism of the fathers of Democracy. Thou hast deigned to accept our devotion, and we gratefully acknowledge Thy divine wisdom and love that has given us unity, harmony and advance. Bless and preserve that pure servant of Thine who has so worthily been selected as the standard-bearer. Bless that leader also whose name will be joined to his. Oh, continue to inspire us that we may always uphold that standard in a way that shall be pleasing to Thy will. May Thy heavenly benediction rest upon our Republic so that our citizenry shall be filled with ideals of national service, and America mount from strength to strength as Thy servant amongst the nations. Amen.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: I take great pleasure in introducing to the convention, as its acting chairman during the closing session, my old friend, the senior senator from Mississippi, the Honorable Pat Harrison. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Pat Harrison of Mississippi): We will have a solo by Mr. Kern Aylward of New York.

Mr. Kern Aylward of New York sang "I Can't Do Without You," as a solo, and then sang as an encore, "Back in Your Own Back Yard." (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The reading clerk will make announcements for the day.

THE READING SECRETARY: Announcements: In order to let the delegates see the Houston ship channel and San Jacinto battlefield before leaving Houston, boats will run all afternoon down the

channel. You can get tickets for boat and bus at the Yellow Cab Stand in the Rice Hotel. Everyone should see the Houston ship channel and San Jacinto battlefield. The boat and bus trip is only \$1.50. They will run every hour from 2 to 6 p. m.

Here is an announcement concerning the railroads: For the benefit of delegates and guests desiring to return home at the adjournment of the convention, the Missouri Pacific lines will operate on the Sunshine Special schedule, an all-Pullman special train to St. Louis, leaving Houston three hours after the adjournment of the convention, making connection with trains to the east and north. It will also operate a special train to New Orleans, leaving Houston at 8:45 p. m. on the day the convention adjourns. In addition, the Missouri Pacific announces that the present arrangements call for the following departures of trains and official car parties: Arkansas, three hours after the convention adjourns; Maryland, five hours after the convention adjourns; Kings County, New York, 8:00 a. m. after adjournment; Illinois, three hours and forty-five minutes after adjournment; New Jersey, four hours after adjournment; Massachusetts and New England, 10:10 a. m., Saturday, June 30th; Missouri, three hours after adjournment; Nebraska, 11:00 p. m., Friday, June 29th; Mississippi, 9:00 p. m., Friday, June 29th; Kentucky, 12:45 p. m., Saturday, June 30th; Connecticut, 12:45 p. m., Saturday, June 30th; Ohio, three hours after adjournment; Indiana, three hours after adjournment.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Miss Melvina Passmore of Houston, Texas, will sing "Dixie."

Miss Melvina Passmore of Houston, Texas, sang "Dixie."  
(Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to announce that those states which desire to have speakers present candidates for the nomination for Vice-President, will send their names to the clerk immediately. We will now proceed by roll call of states for the presentation of candidates for Vice-President. The clerk will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Alabama.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents Judge Michael Sollie of Alabama.

MICHAEL SOLLIE OF ALABAMA PRESENTS HENRY T.  
ALLEN OF KENTUCKY FOR NOMINATION  
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. MICHAEL SOLLIE (of Alabama): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Democrats: It is gratifying for an Alabamian to appear under the guiding light of the Lone Star of the State of Texas, once

illuminating a Republic, but now united with the emblems of forty-seven sisters, only to shine the brighter.

In making the convention's first nomination of a candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States, and in committing his cause to our suffrage, my purpose is to set his claim against a background of achievement, cogent and persuasive, a real life work dynamic and effective, a record of public service brilliant and useful. A true account of these in plain and simple story should fix in the hearts and minds of delegates the rising tide of popular affection which the national electorate have for this outstanding man.

Our candidate was born and reared in Kentucky, bordering the Mason and Dixon line. He incarnates her historic attachment to and love for the entire country. With him there is no North, East, South or West. His childhood atmosphere was one of right living, right thinking and religious observance. His parents were strict Baptists and inculcated in him sound religious principles and brought him up in the tenets of that church. He received his elementary education in the public schools of Bath County, then attended Georgetown College, Kentucky; and, finally, West Point, from which he graduated with honors.

Upon the completion of his education our candidate entered the United States army, in which he continued until his retirement. His army career was characterized by unyielding fidelity to duty, steady progress and great accomplishments. He rose early to distinction. His first post was at Fort Keogh, Montana, where he assisted in guarding and protecting the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad. His next assignment was in the state of Washington, where he found outlet for his love of exploration. He headed a rescue expedition to Alaska, and later explored the Copper, Tanana and Koyukuk rivers. Over 2,800 miles of that bleak country his expedition pushed its way, 1,500 miles of which had never been seen by a white man. At this time he made careful observations and likewise the first maps of those parts of the northland. General Miles pronounced it the greatest exploration achievement since Livingston. We had purchased Alaska from Russia at a cost of \$7,000,000, and retained it eighteen years—a profitless burden—popularly called “Seward’s Folly,” until our candidate explored it, discovered the vast resources of its interior, and made a comprehensive official report which was published by the United States Senate. Alaska has since become a source of great national wealth.

Our candidate has had assignments in various states of the Union; was military attache in Russia, and in Germany; fought in the Spanish-American War and in the Philippine insurrection;

working in conjunction with Governor Taft, he organized and for years commanded the Philippine constabulary, and was in the Villa campaign in old Mexico during 1916.

Two months before we entered the World War our candidate was sent to Fort Riley, Kansas, where he organized a cavalry brigade. In a few months he came to Texas and took command of Camp Travis. He was there promoted to Major General, and organized the 90th Division, consisting of Texas and Oklahoma troops. (Applause.) In May, 1918, the 90th Division, led by our candidate, went overseas and was in the major offensives of San Mihiel and the Argonne-Meuse. His troops reached every objective, held all territory gained, and had no stragglers. These troops had no superiors in the American Expeditionary Forces.

The next task of our candidate was the organization of the 8th Army Corps, composed of the 81st, the 77th, 6th and 36th divisions. After the armistice he was commanding general of our army of occupation on the Rhine in Germany for three and one-half years.

The commands of our candidate were always noted for the efficiency and sobriety of the men, and their loyal warm attachment to him. Pending our occupancy of the Rhineland, Hon. John Q. Tilson, Republican House leader, stated on the floor of the House:

"Another tremendous influence for good in bringing order out of the post-war chaos and re-establishing proper relations with Germany is our military representation, which since the war has been and now is occupying the key position of the Rhineland at Coblenz. General Henry T. Allen, now commanding the small American force on the Rhine, is one of the most efficient and useful diplomats in all Europe today. The number of officers and men under him is small, but their influence is great—out of all proportion to their numbers."

Throughout our occupancy of the Rhine our candidate served as representative of the American government under authority of the State Department on the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission. Upon his return to America the State Department, through Secretary of State Hughes, a Republican, wrote him the following letter of approval: "The occasion of your return to the United States, after a period of distinguished service abroad, offers an opportunity for me to express my own appreciation and that of the department of the splendid work you have done. It has been of inestimable value to have the benefit of your mature judgment and opinion regarding the important developments in the Rhineland, and I deeply appreciate the manner in which, through your comprehensive reports, you have kept the department in touch

with the situation. Permit me, in addition, to express my pride and satisfaction in having had, as the department's representative in Coblenz, an official of your high qualities and distinction, and also my thanks, and that of the department, for the manner in which you have maintained at all times the honor and prestige of the United States."

Upon the advice of the State Department, during the Harding administration, our candidate—a Democrat—was selected as advisor to our ambassador to Great Britain at the Supreme Council held in Paris. He was designated by the State Department and served as a member of the Conference of American Ambassadors and Ministers at Berlin in 1922.

Shortly after the return of our candidate to the United States he won the everlasting gratitude of the Americans of German stock by collecting, through private contribution, three million dollars for starving German children, which sum was distributed to them by Quakers of his selection. This was a heroic task that would have been undertaken only by a very courageous man of marked humanitarian instincts. Thousands of little lives were saved by this action.

A lifelong Democrat, by birth and conviction, our candidate is a firm believer in progressive Democracy and its potential force for the security and happiness of our people. Again and again he has expressed the opinion that the Democratic Party must continue to stress the cardinal principles of the Constitution, the enforcement of the laws, the freedom of the press and of speech, the separation of church and state, and human rights as opposed to material profits.

On the question of labor, our candidate has placed himself on record that the right of labor to organize can no more be questioned than that of capital. He has pointed out most forcibly that the Democratic Party has been misinterpreted in regard to business; that it stands for equity and justice without prejudice toward any business, however big, except dishonest business; and that it should truly foster big business, big agriculture, and big commerce.

Decentralization of government and the protection of state rights is another issue on which our candidate has very decided opinions. He believes that the vested constitutional powers of the states should be zealously guarded in order to maintain the greatest efficiency of the central government and thus prevent undue congestion at the capital. He has claimed that the Democratic Party must be a conservative where the tenets of the Constitution are concerned, and a liberal where the unequal burdens of taxation and the infringement of human rights are involved. He holds that in support of the government, the imposition of

customs duties should not be so great as to stifle competition or to foster monopolies, and that income taxes should be proportional to the capacity to pay; that taxes and taxation are important issues in every presidential election and that in the coming campaign they should not constitute an exception; that in the reduction of the public debt, the present generation, which has been paying more than its quota, should not be prejudiced to the advantage of coming generations, and that they should bear their just share of liabilities incurred equally in their behalves.

Our candidate is unfailing in his interest in the welfare of the farmer. In him they have a year-round friend, not a mere fair-weather friend, but one who will stand by them through thick and thin, because he understands from personal experience the problems and difficulties with which they are burdened. He deplores the economic pressure which is driving American farmers from their broad acres and independent lives into positions of toilers at the machine and bench. He holds that farmers are the bulwark of our citizenship, and says that from their ranks has sprung most of the leaders in this country in every domain of man's activities.

The nomination of our candidate on the Democratic ticket will call forth the approbation and appreciation of that great host of Americans which went across the seas to join in the terrible conflict of nations in order to restore world peace; reared in an agricultural section, he will carry the farmer vote; a law enforcer, he will hold the dry vote, and an all-around American, he will aid in carrying the general vote.

Our candidate is a trained soldier, a great general, a skilled diplomat, a qualified presiding officer, a scholar and linguist, a statesman of marked ability, a man of great, strong, towering personality and big, human sympathies, and in all of these characters a tried and true Democrat.

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats, it is my pleasure, and I have the honor to place in nomination General Henry Tureman Allen of Kentucky for the Vice-Presidency of the United States upon the Democratic ticket. (Prolonged applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Senator William H. King of Utah): The clerk will resume the calling of the roll.

THE READING CLERK: Arizona.

MR. HARRY V. BENE (of Arizona): Arizona yields to the state of New Mexico.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Arizona yields to the state of New Mexico.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in presenting

to you Honorable Sam G. Bratton, the distinguished senator from the state of New Mexico.

SAM G. BRATTON OF NEW MEXICO PRESENTS JOSEPH T.  
ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS FOR NOMINATION  
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

SENATOR SAM G. BRATTON (of New Mexico): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: We are engaged in making history which affects not only the people of the United States, but of the civilized world. We have performed an important task thus far. We have nominated the man who shall guide the destinies of this great commonwealth for at least four years beginning with March 4th of 1929. And now, Mr. Chairman, we turn our attention to the selection of a man to be our standard-bearer in carrying our message to the American people. This, too, is an important matter, one with which we are vitally concerned.

I come to present to you the name of a man who is not a stranger or unknown to the people of the United States; a native of the state of Arkansas (applause); born in the countryside of that great state, the son of a doctor, educated in the rural schools of his native state, later finishing his academic training in the state university of that commonwealth and subsequently completing his law training in the University of Virginia.

At the early age of twenty-one years the people of his native state, with their sagacity and foresight, selected him to serve in the Legislature of that state, being a member of the House of Representatives. Not only was he chosen at that early age to perform an important task relating to the people of his state, but again at thirty years of age he was chosen to serve his district in the House of Representatives at Washington; and at forty years he was selected to hold the office of governor, and during the same year to serve in the United States Senate.

He holds the distinction of having held a mandate from the people of his native state to fill three important offices in the short space of fourteen days. An unique experience. He was a member of the House of Representatives, he was Governor of his state, and elected to the United States Senate in the short period of fourteen days. Not only so, Mr. Chairman, but he has held the distinction of being the leader of the minority in the United States Senate during the six years last past. Not only so, Mr. Chairman, but he holds the distinction of having twice presided over the National Democratic Convention. He was the permanent chairman of the National Democratic Convention eight years ago. He is the permanent chairman of this convention. (Applause.) Not only so, but during those immortal years intervening between 1913 and

1921 when the Democratic Party was engaged in leaving its footprints upon the political sands of time, impressed there with such a program of forward-looking progressive legislation, he served faithfully and well. He enjoyed the personal confidence and sat in the official councils of Woodrow Wilson.

Mr. Chairman, we need to serve us as one of the standard-bearers in the oncoming campaign, and then to serve us as Vice-President when we shall again have taken the reins of government, a man who knows the needs of the American people and who is sympathetically inclined to them.

The man whom I present has served in public office for thirty-four years, and is only fifty-five years of age now. He has submitted himself and his record repeatedly to the people of his state and not a single time have they failed to register their emphatic approval and their abiding confidence in his sagacity, in his intellectuality, in his fidelity to the American people and their cause.

Scholarly, trained, polished, with a national and an international code, viewpoint and understanding; diligent; faithful. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, not one act of faithlessness has ever been found in the official record or in the hearts of mankind against the senior senator from Arkansas, Honorable Joseph T. Robinson. (Applause.)

It would require too much time to undertake an enumeration of the outstanding legislation which he has sponsored and either alone or in conjunction with others has guided to their victory.

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the convention, without consuming more of your time, I present for your consideration as our nominee for Vice-President and running mate to the next President of the United States, Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. (Prolonged applause, delegates rising.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please resume their seats.

The clerk will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Arkansas.

MR. W. D. JACKSON (of Arkansas): Mr. Chairman, Arkansas yields to the state of Massachusetts.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Arkansas yields to Massachusetts. Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, I have the pleasure and honor of introducing to you the Honorable David Walsh, the junior senator from Massachusetts.

DAVID I. WALSH OF MASSACHUSETTS SECONDS  
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

SENATOR DAVID I. WALSH (of Massachusetts): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: This convention has

broken a precedent in the choice of its candidate for the presidency. Let us not hesitate to shatter another discreditable precedent in the selection of our candidate for Vice-President. (Applause.) The Democratic Party in this convention has declared that neither accident nor environment of birth is longer a controlling element of qualification for the bestowal of the first honors of our party. Let us apply the same principle to our choice for the office of Vice-President by here and now destroying the spirit of sectionalism. Let us proclaim loudly that mere location of a citizen in the Southland shall not eliminate him from receiving the highest honors of our party.

As Alfred E. Smith typifies an emergence from some of the misunderstanding of the past, so let our candidate for Vice-President be a further continuance of our desire, of our determination to give fuller freedom to Democracy and Democratic institutions. (Applause.) Democracy has long demanded release from selfishness and economic oppression in government; release from pettiness, misunderstandings and suspicion in party councils. (Applause.)

She looks to the Democratic Party to lead the way; it is a call to courage, to justice, and for another political right to the individual citizen too long denied in practice.

It is a trumpet call for complete enjoyment by every individual of equality in American politics.

We will not fail Democracy's call as she emerges more majestic than ever from this convention.

Our party, through its candidate for President, has given a new beauty and a larger concept than ever to that powerful word, "Democracy." I plead that the choice of our candidate for Vice-President shall indicate no recession. Neither political smugness nor political colorlessness, wealth nor its absence, locality nor any other similar consideration should longer be an essential qualification for a party nomination for the office of Vice-President. (Applause.) I ask that merit, character and ability for the highest and most honorable public office be our real measure. Aye, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the Democratic convention of 1928 continue the forward march of Democracy and once and for all time drive sectionalism out of our party and the nation. I nominate as our candidate for the office of Vice-President an American statesman with a long and honorable career of service to country and party.

Not in sixty-eight years has a citizen of the South been a leading candidate of any major political party. This disgraceful discrimination should end here and now. Though we may not be able to atone for our blindness of the past, we can stir a new hope

in the breast of every southerner because of the restoration of real equality of opportunity to hold all public offices.

Governor of his state; ten years in the House of Representatives at the national capitol; three terms in the Senate of the United States; such the long years given to the service of his country.

Twice chairman of Democratic National Conventions; leader of his and our party in the United States Senate; his voice ever and everywhere raised to spread Democracy's message, aye, even at this hour presiding over this convention. I nominate as our candidate for Vice-President the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas.

Let us give the nation and Governor Smith as his associate an aggressive, courageous and progressive Democrat. Such a man is Senator Robinson. (Applause.)

The Republican Party, through its presiding officer, Senator Moses, at its recent convention, thinking only in terms of the few, as is its wont, threw down the gauntlet to us in an ironical demand that they stood haughtily and insolently, if the tone of their words do not belie them, waiting for us to bring on our Smiths, Browns, Joneses and Robinsons to the slaughter. Unblushingly, it is a challenge of the powerful few, the chief beneficiaries of Republicanism, to the common people that the Smiths, Browns, Joneses and Robinsons typify. We accept their defiance. We even accept their specifications; Republican self-sufficiency, Republican autocracy and Republican plutocracy on the one side; on the other the Smiths, the Browns, the Joneses and the Robinsons, whom Lincoln loved. (Applause.)

Who, once the issue is drawn tightly and clearly, can deny victory to the common people, marching forward to the battle for freedom of the ballot, honest government, the restoration of real political and economic equality, justice and freedom for all Americans under the leadership of our Smith and our Robinson?

Mr. Chairman, I second the nomination of Honorable Joseph T. Robinson, United States senator, of Arkansas, as our candidate for the office of Vice-President.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: California.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: California yields to Wyoming, and the chair presents Mrs. T. S. Toliver of Wyoming. (Applause.)

**MRS. T. S. TOLIVER OF WYOMING PLACES MRS. NELLIE TAYLOE ROSS IN NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT**

MRS. T. S. TOLIVER (of Wyoming): Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: I promise to take up only a few minutes of your time.

In the name of this great historic party, and obedient to the will of the Democracy of Wyoming, I nominate for the office of Vice-President of the United States one of America's statesmen.

For four years, as much as any one person, she has been in the eyes of the nation. As far back as April, 1927, at a meeting of the Woman's National Democratic Club, held in the city of Washington, she stirred the nation by reaffirming her party's ancient faith of "religious toleration."

The nomination of a woman to the office of Vice-President would be in complete harmony with the spirit of Democracy. It is a fact worthy of the attention of every woman in this nation that the Democratic Party has taken the lead in giving recognition to women.

It was the Democratic territorial legislature of Wyoming which first of all conferred upon women the ballot, with all the rights of citizenship. It was the Democratic Party, also in that same state, as here in Texas, which honored women with nomination to the office of governor.

The Democratic Party has taken the lead in receiving women into its party councils. The representation they have in this convention emphasizes the truth of this statement.

By conferring upon this much beloved woman a place upon the national ticket it would be a progressive step and would immeasurably strengthen its claim to the support of women all over the country.

She was the first woman governor, and during her term of office proved herself to be one of our country's ablest executives. Her administration was marked by honesty, sincerity and courage. I present to you a name in every way fitted to stand with that of Alfred E. Smith; I nominate for Vice-President Nellie Tayloe Ross, former governor of Wyoming. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The secretary will call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Colorado.

MR. CHARLES D. VAIL (of Colorado): Colorado yields to Kentucky.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Colorado yields to Kentucky, and the chair presents Senator A. O. Stanley of Kentucky. (Applause.)

**A. O. STANLEY PLACES ALBEN W. BARKLEY OF KENTUCKY IN NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT**

MR. A. O. STANLEY (of Kentucky): Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: I commenced going to Democratic conventions and to church about the same time, some fifty-odd years ago, and now I stand before you a grizzled veteran and pronounce this the happiest and most harmonious meeting of unconquered and unconquerable Democrats that has ever assembled upon this continent since the Civil War. (Applause.)

Within a fortnight, both political parties have assembled, but it is a far cry from Kansas City to Houston, and what discerning patriot, be he Democrat or Republican, can leave this high mountain to feed and fatten on that moor?

We have just written a Democratic platform without a dissenting vote, without a discordant note, which will ring like a clarion call to victory in November. (Applause.)

Read, if you can, and read, if you will, through that wilderness of words, that mass of meaningless, that mass of "platitudinous" platitudes written at Kansas City, and tell me if it is a political program or a declaration of principles. At most, it is a weak alibi for a convicted criminal. Read it through, and it ends in an obituary for Calvin Coolidge. (Applause.)

My friends, we are told by the chairman of that convention that we owe the seasons, the sunlight and the day, the discovery of the radio, the increase in automobiles, and in telephones and telegrams to the Republican Party. He goes over a long statistical account of the fact that there are millions of bathtubs in use now that were not in use during Woodrow Wilson's administration. (Laughter.) God knows that it is as it should be, for if there was ever any time on earth when we needed that, it is now. (Applause.) The Republican Party needs washing—yea, it needs whitewashing. (Applause.)

I am here to present the name of a gallant son of old Kentucky. When the far-flung battle lines are drawn, you know and I know that the fight will be in old Kentucky. This determination of our and your struggle, the result of this colossal conflict, every wise and discerning man knows must hinge upon the result in a few border states. In a few short days you shall hang with bated breath upon the result in Kentucky, which may be decisive of the political destinies of a party and the happiness and prosperity of an empire. (Applause.)

Nominate this gallant Kentuckian and victory is ours. He has all of the qualifications. It is true that he agrees with the nominee neither in religion nor in a moral dogma, but the two men worship

alike in the temple of liberty, and they bow together before the shrine of the sage of Monticello. One a barefooted boy upon the sidewalks of New York and the other a barefooted boy in the furrow, walking among pennyroyal, alike they have won their way to place and fame and power, and together we can meet the future with absolute confidence of an overwhelming victory.

Kentucky has wisely chosen this gifted son of hers for high public office. I have known him from a county judge to a congressman, and from a congressman to senator, and every trust he has discharged with fidelity and distinction. Religiously devoted to the cause of Democracy, the friend of every man who toils. The champion of labor, the friend of the farmer, he holds the confidence and the heart of the plain people of the South. (Applause.) Gifted with a rare eloquence, tireless energy and iron vigor and a winsome eloquence. Place the standard in his hands and he will carry it over the top fifty thousand strong in old Kentucky. (Applause.)

I present to this convention that gallant gentleman, that accomplished statesman, that gifted Kentuckian, that superb Democrat, Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky. (Prolonged applause.)

MR. WILLIAM J. HARRIS (of Georgia): I move that we limit these speeches of nomination to five minutes, and seconding speeches to three minutes.

The motion was variously seconded.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN (Mr. Pat Harrison of Mississippi): The delegate from Georgia, Senator Harris, asks unanimous consent that all nominating speeches be limited to five minutes, and those that second nominations to three minutes. Is there objection? The chair hears no objection, and the unanimous consent is granted. (Applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: Colorado.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Colorado yields to Illinois. The chair presents Senator Ham Lewis of Illinois.

J. HAMILTON LEWIS OF ILLINOIS SECONDS  
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON

MR. J. HAMILTON LEWIS (of Illinois): Members of the Convention: I am commissioned by the indomitable Democrats of the state of Illinois to present to you the expression of her preference for the vice-presidency upon the ticket you are now designating. I beg to call to your attention that the position of Vice-President of the United States is that of a substitute. The man who occupies the place of the United States Vice-President should be a man qualified to take the place of the President in the event of untoward calamity or unexpected incident in the course of humanity.

The man before this convention for whom we speak represents before you the combined qualifications which fit him for the first place in the Union. Long a servant of his state in the matters of home government, he has qualified himself as the friend of his neighbor. A member of the House of Representatives of America, he has become familiar with all forms of legislation necessary to the course of the Republic. Long a member of the United States Senate, he has learned the deliberation necessary to the great movements of the nation in her relations with the world. Lately the leader of the United States Senate, he has been the spokesman of his party, and as such in that office commanded the admiration of his political followers, the affection of his friends, and the respect of his adversaries. This qualified man, citizen of the southwest, a neighbor to his friends, a gentleman of his country, a statesman of his Republic, Illinois presents, as she seconds the nomination of the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Delaware. (No response.) Florida.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair introduces to the convention Mr. Fuller Warren of Florida.

FULLER WARREN OF FLORIDA PRESENTS DUNCAN U.  
FLETCHER OF FLORIDA FOR NOMINATION  
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. FULLER WARREN (of Florida): My friends, this is the proudest and happiest moment of my life.

In all the broad range of human experiences I can imagine nothing more happy than a forlorn, hopeless old maid marching to the marriage altar; after a great many years of patient, long-suffering waiting, she has attained that object of every woman's desire—a man—she was about to enter that blissful period of matrimony known as a honeymoon. I am almost as happy today to be allowed the privilege of addressing this convention. The only thing that mars my joy or lessens my happiness is the knowledge that I may not be able to measure up to the demands of this momentous occasion, and I stand before you today yearning as never before for the magic gift of oratory, for the peculiar powers of persuasive speech which stir men's souls and warm their blood, which, when that peerless orator, Cicero, gave his first speech in the Roman Senate, enabled him to make it so convincing, so delightful, that seven hundred young wives divorced their husbands in the hope of marrying him. I crave that power. Alas, I have it not! I have neither the wit nor word or power of speech to stir men's hearts.

My friends, that great philosopher and profound political scientist, Will Rogers, once said, "As long as civilization lasts, men will continue making speeches; as long as civilization lasts, women will continue wearing dresses. The shorter they make them both, the better we like them." My friends, I realize the truth in that statement, so I am going to make this very brief.

My friends, what I have to say to you I trust will commend itself with virgin modesty to your better judgment. My friends, I have arisen, I come from that state where dreams of wealth are made glorious realities—Florida. My friends, I have arisen for the purpose of placing in nomination our senior senator, Honorable Duncan U. Fletcher. He has been in the Senate nineteen years, and if his health holds out he will be there nineteen more. (Applause.)

My friends, Florida has been serving the Democratic Party through one hundred years; we have proven our fidelity and loyalty; we ask you to give us a little recognition. Give us the vice-presidency.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue to call the roll.

THE READING SECRETARY: Georgia. (No response.) Idaho.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to present Mr. W. R. Chapman of Idaho.

#### W. R. CHAPMAN OF IDAHO SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF MRS. NELLIE TAYLOE ROSS

MR. W. R. CHAPMAN (of Idaho): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Idaho was among the first of the states of this Union to grant equal suffrage to its womanhood. This it did because of its early belief in that principle and not under compulsion of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, but in the free exercise of its sovereign right as an American state.

Idaho, likewise, is a dry state. Its dryness does not depend upon, nor was it adopted under the compulsion of the eighteenth amendment. Idaho was dry before that event and we have learned in that state that the enforcement of our prohibition laws and our status as a dry state depends vastly more upon the complexion and desires and efficiency of our local officers and our local sheriffs than it does upon anyone in Washington, D. C., and that is the reason that, even in the days of Republican landslides, Idaho has always had a majority of Democratic sheriffs.

I am not here to second the nomination of any man for the vice-presidency, as we have learned in recent history that the vice-presidency is not necessarily a man's job. I am here, however,

to second the nomination of a most unusual woman, a woman of inestimable charm, of unusual experience, the successful administrator of that most glorious of all institutions, the American home, and the first of her sex in this country to become the chief executive of an American state. The Democracy of Idaho, in recognition not only of the splendid services of the womanhood of Idaho's Democracy, but in recognition of the splendid services of the womanhood of America, takes great pleasure and satisfaction in seconding the nomination of Governor Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents the Honorable M. F. Healy of Iowa.

MR. M. F. HEALY (of Iowa): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: By unanimous selection of the Iowa delegation I am here to second the nomination of Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. (Applause.)

May I extend to the distinguished former Senator from Oklahoma, the Honorable Thomas P. Gore, my congratulations on his speech of yesterday. (Applause.)

May I say a word further. This is my ninth national convention, and I am coming back four years from now for the renomination of President Smith.

After Baltimore I spent the following day at Mount Vernon. Four years ago, after the New York convention, I took my daughter to Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill and old Charleston Harbor. I am getting ready to take my departure from this convention city, and on my way home I am going to stop at Nashville, and there, at the Hermitage of Andrew Jackson, prepare for the fight. (Applause.)

May the spirits of the heroic dead and the sainted Democrat, Jackson, hover over our convention and over our campaign and put strength and life and victory into the efforts of our standard-bearers. (Prolonged applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will continue to call the roll of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: Indiana. (No response.) Iowa. (No response.) Kansas. (No response.) Louisiana. (No response.) Maine. (No response.) Maryland. (No response.) Michigan. (No response.) Minnesota. (No response.) Mississippi. (No response.) Missouri. (No response.) Montana. (No response.) Nebraska. (No response.) Nevada. (No response.) New Hampshire. (No response.) New Jersey.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents Congresswoman Mary T. Norton of New Jersey. (Applause.)

CONGRESSWOMAN MARY T. NORTON (of New Jersey): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: It gives me

much pleasure to second the nomination of a man with whom I have had the honor to serve in Congress, and whom I consider one of the outstanding members of the Senate; one whose ability and other qualifications are unquestioned, and who is one of the leading statesmen of the country. It is not my purpose to delay this convention, as I am a delegate here and feel sure that you all are very anxious to pack up and go home, and so I am not going to take even the three minutes allotted to me.

It is my very great privilege and pleasure to second the nomination of the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. (Prolonged applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: There will be a continuance of the call of states.

THE READING SECRETARY: New York. (No response.) North Carolina. (No response.) North Dakota. (No response.) Ohio. (No response.) Oklahoma. (No response.) Oregon. (No response.) Pennsylvania. (No response.) Rhode Island. (No response.) South Carolina. (No response.) South Dakota. (No response.) Tennessee. (No response.) Texas. (No response.) Utah. (No response.) Vermont. (No response.) Virginia. (No response.) Washington. (No response.) West Virginia. (No response.) Wisconsin. (No response.) Alaska. (No response.) District of Columbia. (No response.) Hawaii. (No response.) Philippines. (No response.) Porto Rico. (No response.) Panama Canal Zone. (No response.) Virgin Islands. (No response.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Unanimous consent is asked that Mrs. Daniel McDougal present a second to a nomination. The chair hears no objection. The chair presents Mrs. McDougal.

MRS. DANIEL McDUGAL (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: You gave us "The Sidewalks of New York," and now we offer you "The Arkansas Traveler." (Applause.) We will make the Republicans dance to Democratic music. (Applause.)

I come from one of the youngest states in the Union to second a nomination for the vice-presidency of the United States.

Oklahoma is young enough to sit at the feet of her sister states and acquire wisdom, but old enough to realize that this is a most momentous hour in the history of our nation, old enough to know that the world is watching with expectant eyes the proceedings of this great convention, and that the decisions made here will profoundly affect the destiny of our own and other lands, and we are young enough and optimistic enough to believe that progress will really begin here and now, and that the leadership

of the world will return to us as a result of the deeds done in Houston. (Applause.)

Oklahoma is closely bound by the ties of blood and kinship to every other state in the Union.

We love you of the North, the East, the West and the South, because we have many of your people within our borders, while others remain with you, and even as the captive Daniel opened his windows towards Jerusalem when he prayed, so many of you look with love and affection towards Oklahoma because your sons and daughters have gone there to pioneer in a new state.

Particularly do we love our neighboring state of Arkansas because she has given us so many fine and splendid citizens, and it is our pleasure and happiness to second the nomination of her most beloved and outstanding citizen.

A true son of the Southland, born in a state whose air is steeped with the traditions and ideals of the party, whose very soil is vibrant with the sacred dust of generations of Democrats—a man with Jefferson's vision of freedom, and with Jackson's rugged courage, a man with the idealism of a Wilson and the true purposes of a Bryan. He is a standard-bearer worthy to lead the hosts of Democracy on to victory.

Enjoying the confidence of the people to a marvelous degree, unstained by the leprous touch of tainted money, unscarred by the withering whisper of scandal and unscathed by the cankering breath of fraud, he comes to you with clean hands and an upright record.

The searchlight of public opinion has played upon him, but found no fault within him. A tower of strength to his party in times of peace and a rock of Gibraltar to our martyred wartime President, upholding his hands and helping to carry out his great policies, thus earning the love and gratitude of every loyal American.

Give us the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson for a leader and we will scourge the money changers from the temple and again assume control of the affairs of this nation and take our rightful place among the nations of the earth. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will now call the roll of states for balloting upon the candidates who have been nominated for Vice-President of the United States. There was an oversight in not calling Texas. The chair presents to the convention Walter C. Woodward of Texas.

WALTER C. WOODWARD OF TEXAS SECONDS JOSEPH T.  
ROBINSON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. WALTER C. WOODWARD (of Texas): Mr. Chairman and

Gentlemen of the Convention: I come today as a delegate from Texas, with the knowledge, consent and approval of the Texas delegation, to second the nomination of the next Vice-President of these United States. For the militant, fighting Democracy of Imperial Texas, the greatest of the great southern Democratic states, we pledge allegiance to the Democracy of this nation, to the Democratic Party, and to the nominees thereof. (Applause.) To the presidential nominee of this convention we promise the electoral vote of Texas (applause) and the same good Democratic majority. Without further delay, I now have the honor, the pleasure and the happiness to second the nomination of our friend and our neighbor, the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas for Vice-President. (Prolonged applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair presents Mr. George L. Dwinnell of Wisconsin.

**GEORGE L. DWINNELL OF WISCONSIN SECONDS JOSEPH  
T. ROBINSON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT**

MR. GEORGE L. DWINNELL (of Wisconsin): Ladies and Gentlemen of this Great Convention: Last night we nominated a President of the United States. This morning we are going to nominate a Vice-President. I come from the great industrial state of Wisconsin, the richest farm state in the world. It has the best water, the best grass for dairy purposes, and the best climate for dairy cows. The co-operative farm creamery has the largest output of butter and cream of any creamery in the world. Wisconsin now is furnishing sweet milk and cream for eastern and southern cities. The best milk, the best cream, the best butter, and the best cheese in the world. It produces seventy-five per cent of the cheese produced in the United States.

On behalf of the Wisconsin delegation, I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Senator Robinson. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will proceed to call the roll of ballots.

**BALLOTING IN THE SELECTION OF A NOMINEE  
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT**

(The reading secretary proceeded with the roll call of states upon the first ballot, as follows:)

Alabama, 24. Allen, 21; Robinson, 2; Barkley, 1.  
Arizona, 6. Robinson, 6.  
Arkansas, 18. Robinson, 18.  
California, 26. Robinson, 23; Ross, 3.  
Colorado, 12. Robinson, 12.  
Connecticut, 14. Robinson, 14.

Delaware, 6. Robinson, 6.  
Florida, 12. Fletcher, 7; Barkley, 1; Robinson, 3; not voting, 1.  
Georgia, 28. Robinson, 28.  
Idaho, 8. Ross, 8.  
Illinois, 58. Ross, 2; Robinson, 56.  
Indiana, 30. Stevenson, 2; Barkley, 7; Woollen, 2; Robinson, 19.  
Iowa, 26. Robinson, 26.  
Kansas, 20. Robinson, 10; Berry, 10.  
Kentucky, 26. Barkley, 26.  
Louisiana, 20. Robinson, 20.  
Maine, 12. Robinson, 12.  
Maryland, 16. Robinson, 16.  
Massachusetts, 36. Ross, 2; Robinson, 34.  
Michigan, 30. Robinson, 30.  
Minnesota, 24. Robinson, 24.  
Mississippi, 20. Robinson, 20.  
Missouri, 36. Barkley, 14; Robinson, 15; Taylor, 6; Allen, 1.  
Montana, 8. Robinson, 8.  
Nebraska, 16. Robinson, 16.  
Nevada, 6. Berry, 6.  
New Hampshire, 8. Ross, 1; Robinson, 7.  
New Jersey, 28. Robinson, 28.  
New Mexico, 6. Robinson, 6.  
New York, 90. Robinson, 90.  
North Carolina, 24. Robinson, 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ ; Moody, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
North Dakota, 10. Robinson, 10.  
Ohio, 48. Robinson, 34; Barkley, 12; Ross, 1; Tumulty, 1.  
Oklahoma, 20. Robinson, 20.  
Oregon, 10. Ross, 1; Robinson, 9.  
Pennsylvania, 76. Ross, 1; Robinson, 75.  
Rhode Island, 10. Robinson, 10.  
South Carolina, 18. Robinson, 18.  
South Dakota, 10. Ross, 6; Robinson, 4.  
Tennessee, 24. Barkley, 18; Robinson, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Berry, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Texas, 40. Robinson, 40.  
Utah, 8. Robinson, 6; Ross, 2.  
Vermont, 8. Robinson, 8.  
Virginia, 24. Robinson, 22; Stevenson, 2.  
Washington, 14. Robinson, 14.  
West Virginia, 16. Robinson, 16.  
Wisconsin, 26. Robinson, 26.  
Wyoming, 6. Ross, 6.  
Alaska, 6. Robinson, 6.  
District of Columbia, 6. Robinson, 6.  
Hawaii, 6. Robinson, 6.

Philippines, 6. Allen, 6.  
Porto Rico, 6. Robinson, 6.  
Canal Zone, 6. Robinson, 6.  
Virgin Islands, 2. Robinson, 2.

(After the roll call, the following proceedings were had:)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Massachusetts is recognized.

DAVID I. WALSH (of Massachusetts): Mr. Chairman, Massachusetts desires to correct her vote so she will stand 2 for Davis and 34 for Joseph T. Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Massachusetts corrects her vote to read Massachusetts, 2 votes for Davis and 34 for Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Senator Barkley of Kentucky.

MR. ALBEN W. BARKLEY (of Kentucky): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Kentucky delegation, which has complimented me with its vote for Vice-President of the United States, I desire to change that vote from Barkley to Senator Robinson. (Applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: The Kentucky vote is changed from Barkley to Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Governor Ross of Wyoming.

MRS. NELLIE TAYLOE ROSS (of Wyoming): Mr. Chairman, in justice to Wyoming, the state which has honored me, I change my voting support to Senator Robinson of Arkansas. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Tennessee arise?

MR. H. B. McGINNIS (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, I change the vote of Tennessee. I am directed to cast 16 votes, which were formerly cast for Senator Barkley, for Senator Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: The votes cast for Senator Barkley by Tennessee are to be reported for Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Virginia arise?

MR. J. MURRAY HOOKER (of Virginia): Virginia desires to change her vote from 22 for Robinson to 24 for Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Virginia changes her vote, and gives her whole 24 votes to Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Oregon arise?

MR. DANIEL J. FRY (of Oregon): Oregon changes her vote and votes 10 votes for Senator Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Oregon gives her 10 votes to Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Idaho arise?

MR. W. ORR CHAPMAN (of Idaho): Idaho changes its vote to 8 votes for Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Idaho gives 8 votes to Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Pennsylvania arise?

MR. THOMAS F. FARRELL (of Pennsylvania): Pennsylvania desires to change its vote by casting the unanimous 76 votes for Senator Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Pennsylvania gives 76 votes to Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from California arise?

MR. J. A. BARDIN (of California): California desires to cast 26 votes for Senator Robinson. (Applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: California gives 26 votes to Robinson.

MR. CHARLES M. HOWELL (of Missouri): Mr. Chairman, a delegate from Missouri. Missouri desires the votes cast for Senator Barkley to be recorded as cast for Senator Robinson, making 36 votes from Missouri to Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The gentlemen will have to wait for the tally clerks to keep count.

Missouri casts 36 votes for Robinson.

MR. HENRI T. LEDOUX (of New Hampshire): Mr. Chairman, New Hampshire casts 8 votes for Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Ohio arise?

MR. DENNIS F. DUNLAVY (of Ohio): Ohio changes its vote and now casts 48 votes for Senator Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: New Hampshire, 8 votes for Robinson and Ohio casts 48 votes for Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Massachusetts arise?

MR. JAMES M. CURLEY (of Massachusetts): Massachusetts casts 36 votes for Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Massachusetts, 36 for Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from South Dakota arise?

MR. L. W. BICKNELL (of South Dakota): To change the vote to 10 votes for Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: South Dakota gives 10 votes to Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Nevada arise?

MR. H. R. COOKE (of Nevada): Nevada desires to change its vote to 6 votes for Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Nevada casts 6 votes for Senator Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from the Philippines arise?

MR. ROBERT E. MANLY (Philippine Islands): The Philippine Islands desire to change their votes to 6 votes for Robinson. (Applause.)

THE READING SECRETARY: The Philippine Islands cast their 6 votes for Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: For what purpose does the delegate from Utah arise?

MR. S. B. DOBBS (of Utah): Utah desires to change her vote to Robinson.

THE READING SECRETARY: Utah changes her whole vote to Robinson.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: On this vote the following received the following votes: Allen, 21; Mrs. Ross, 2; Barkley, 9; Fletcher, 7; Stevenson, 2; Woollen, 2; Berry, 11½; Moody, 9½; Robinson, \*1,032½.

The Honorable Joseph T. Robinson, having received two-thirds of all the votes cast, is the Democratic nominee of this convention for Vice-President of the United States.

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\*NOTE—The total vote for Senator Robinson appears from the accompanying table to have been 1,035½.

## BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

(As it stood before changes in vote were announced by various delegations)



## BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

(Final)

STATE	Votes	Robinson	Ross	Barkley	Allen	Fletcher	Woollen	Stevenson	Berry	Moody
South Carolina .....	18	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Dakota .....	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee .....	24	22½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1½ ..
Texas .....	40	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah .....	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont .....	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia .....	24	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington .....	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia .....	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin .....	26	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia...	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philippines .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canal Zone .....	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virgin Islands .....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<hr/>										
Totals .....	1100	1035½	2	9	21	7	2	2	11½	9½

Total votes cast, 1,099. Necessary to a choice, two-thirds of vote cast. Not voting—Florida, 1.

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\*Massachusetts announced two votes for Davis, but later gave all votes to Robinson.

**THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Shaver, announces that there will be a meeting of the Democratic National Committee on this platform immediately after the adjournment of this convention.

The chair has just been informed that the Democratic Ex-Service Men's League has perfected its organization, and the chair will now appoint the following committee to escort the newly-elected chairman of the league, Honorable Bennett C. Clark of Missouri, son of the late beloved Champ Clark, to the platform: Dr. N. D. Williams of Missouri, Governor Dan Moody of Texas, Edgar C. Bennett of Kansas, George L. Berry of Tennessee, and Robert E. Condon of New York.

The Honorable Bennett C. Clark was escorted to the platform by the committee.

**THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN:** Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention, I present to you the Honorable Bennett Clark, son of the late and beloved Champ Clark. (Prolonged applause.)

**MR. BENNETT C. CLARK (of Missouri):** Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: Between the sessions of this convention, since the first day, the service men of the convention have been holding meetings. I understand that they have been attended by three or four hundred delegates and Democrats who have been attending this convention, who have formerly been in the service of the United States in the military or naval branches. Personally, I have been unable to attend those meetings on account of membership on convention committees and convention business. A permanent organization has been perfected for the purpose of organizing former service men of the country who are Democrats in the interest of Democratic success in the fall. I have just learned that I have been selected as the head of this organization, and I desire to announce the names of vice-chairmen who have been selected to aid in this work throughout the country:

Vice-Chairmen—Vilas Whaley, Wisconsin; John C. Townes, Texas; Jos. K. Carson, Oregon; Jo E. Gaitskill, Kansas; R. C. Patterson, Jr., New York; Franklin O. King, Florida; Frank Chatwick, Washington; Willis M. Brewer, Michigan.

Secretary—Frank Miles, Iowa.

Treasurer—Dr. D. M. Williams, Missouri.

Committee on Finance—Chairman, Robert E. Condon, New York City; Senator Dan S. Steck, Iowa; Judge Phillip Sullivan, Chicago.

Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say that I hope there will be no confusion about this matter. This is not an effort in any sense to involve the American Legion in politics in any way whatever. We simply believe that a common experience, general simi-

larity of age and general similarity of viewpoint make the ex-service men who are Democrats a convenient basis for the formation of an effective organization in the common army of Democracy. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I know that I do the will of this convention in calling to this platform and asking him to say something to you because of the high service he has rendered to the Democratic Party and the happiness that he has brought to all of us in bringing this convention to Houston, Mr. Jones of Houston. (Applause.)

#### ADDRESS OF JESSE H. JONES OF HOUSTON

MR. JESSE H. JONES (of Houston): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I just want to tell you how happy we are to have had you with us, to have had you hold this convention in Houston.

When the national committee accepted our invitation last January we were made very happy. We have swelled with pride in our bosoms ever since; we have put every effort forward, we have been a united citizenship in preparing to make your stay here comfortable, to build this hall and to do the other things that we felt were necessary for you to hold this convention. Naturally, there have been some disappointments, there have been some mistakes. They have not been of the heart. We have done our best, and we hope you will overlook the little mistakes.

I want to congratulate this convention upon its deliberations; I want to congratulate this convention upon its nominations (applause); I want to congratulate this convention upon its platform and upon its unity. I am told by Senator Pittman that not since 1882 has there been a National Democratic Convention held without a minority report. (Applause.)

Texas has been kind enough to reward me for what little service it felt that I had rendered our party by giving its vote for me for the presidency. I assure you that we have been in no sense a contestant for that place, and whatever service I have been able to render I have done it without hope of reward or without expectation of political preferment of any kind. (Applause.)

In 1924 I was a delegate to the convention in Madison Square Garden and voted for my friend William Gibbs McAdoo a good many times. When the fight was over, I enlisted in the service to elect John W. Davis and Charles W. Bryan. Now I enlist in the service to elect Alfred E. Smith and Joe Robinson of Arkansas. (Applause.) I doubt if in fifty years a man has come across the horizon of this country that has fascinated it as has Governor Smith. (Applause.) He is an unusual character. His personality

has won this nomination—nothing short of that. Some of us call him "Governor"; some of us call him "Alfred E. Smith," but most people call him "Al."

We now go forward to battle; we go forward a united party, and I hope that we will all pull together—and I am sure we will—for the election of the ticket. (Applause.)

I want to say while here a word or two in behalf of the ushers, the sergeants-at-arms, the pages, and the other employees about the building that have worked unceasingly for our comfort. I am sure that you will join in a vote of thanks to all of them.

And now, my friends, let me assure you again how happy we have been to have you come to Houston and we hope that you have been comfortable. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: I present Mayor Holcombe of Houston.

#### ADDRESS OF HON. OSCAR F. HOLCOMBE OF HOUSTON

MAYOR HOLCOMBE (of Houston): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my pleasure, on behalf of the local Arrangements Committee, the Chamber of Commerce, and as mayor of the city of Houston, to present to each delegation here one of these flags, the flag of your state or territory. We obtained these flags for decorations in the hall. They will be sent to the national committeeman of your state with our compliments. We are glad that you came. We hope that you will think Houston is next to the best town in this entire world, for you undoubtedly think your home town is the best town. Goodbye and thank you. (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The clerk will read a resolution.

#### RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY CLAUDE MEEKER OF OHIO

THE READING SECRETARY (reading): "Resolved, That the thanks of the Democratic National Convention are hereby tendered to the Honorable Claude G. Bowers, temporary chairman; the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson, permanent chairman; the Honorable Clem Shaver, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; the Honorable Charles A. Greathouse, secretary, and all other members of the Democratic National Committee; Richard T. Buchanan, executive secretary; the Honorable Clarence Cannon, parliamentarian; Edwin A. Halsey, sergeant-at-arms; E. Lee Barnes, chief doorkeeper; P. J. Haltigan, chief reading secretary; Kenneth Romney, chief tally clerk; Miss Jessie Scott, official reporter, and all others who co-operated so effectively in achieving a successful national convention."

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The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The Honorable Scott Ferris of Oklahoma offers the following resolution, which the clerk will report.

**RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY SCOTT FERRIS  
OF OKLAHOMA**

THE READING SECRETARY (reading): "Resolved, That the Democratic National Convention record its profound and hearty thanks to the city and people of Houston and of Texas, and particularly to the local committees and to the municipal government, for the very admirable and complete accommodations for the convention; that as representatives of the Democratic Party we shall never forget their unfailing courtesy, hospitality and good will manifested in immemorable ways; that an especial debt of gratitude is owing to the city and people of Houston who have co-operated with the city in building for the twenty-fifth Democratic National Convention a hall, named after the great pathfinder and liberator, Sam Houston, marvelous for its proportions, capacity and architectural excellence;

"That the convention expresses its gratitude to the Honorable Jesse H. Jones, who, as chairman of the Arrangements Committee of the Democratic National Committee, has given most generously of his time and ability to do big things in a great way;

"That we are deeply obligated to the Honorable O. F. Holcombe, mayor of the city of Houston, for his leadership as a public official and citizen in the entertainment of the convention, and to the various heads and departments of the city government, not overlooking the very handsome and efficient traffic police; and to the organizations of women that have been tireless in all endeavors that make for a successful national gathering; and that we shall go to our homes happy in the thought of a most excellently entertained convention in a city and state of great Democratic lineage and traditions."

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Without objection, the resolution will be adopted.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The following resolution is offered by Mrs. Daisy McLaurin Stevens of Mississippi, which the clerk will read.

THE READING CLERK (reading): "Whereas, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair has so efficiently carried on the work of organizing the Democratic women of the United States and has served the Democratic Party faithfully, untiringly and brilliantly as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee and leader of the Democratic women for the past six years.

"Be it resolved by this convention that the Democratic Party hereby expresses its appreciation of the unselfish devotion, the untiring zeal, and the brilliant gifts she has brought to its service."

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The following resolution is offered by Frank Hogue of Florida, which the clerk will read:

THE READING CLERK (reading): "Resolved, That the thanks of the convention be tendered to the press for the excellent and accurate accounts of its proceedings and to the broadcasting companies that sent the story immediately to millions."

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: The next resolution is offered by Mr. Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana, which the clerk will read:

THE READING CLERK (reading): "Resolved, That the Democratic National Convention extends its thanks to Charles Kirk, public service commissioner, Tom Goodson, chief of police, and C. J. Ollre, chief of the fire department, and to the members of their departments for the most excellent protection and co-operation given to the delegates of the convention."

The question was taken and the resolution was agreed to.

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Without objection, it is understood and agreed to by the convention that the Honorable Claude Bowers, temporary chairman of this convention, will notify the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson of his nomination as Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, and that the Honorable Key Pittman, chairman of the Resolutions Committee of this convention, will notify the Honorable Alfred E. Smith of his nomination on the Democratic ticket for President of the United States. (Applause.)

News has just come to the convention from the International News Service that the following telegram has been sent to Governor Smith by the Honorable James A. Reed, which the clerk will read.

THE READING CLERK (reading): "Governor Alfred E. Smith, Albany, New York: I send you my warmest congratulations and my warmest hope for your success, to which I will contribute as much as possible. (Signed) James A. Reed." (Applause.)

THE ACTING PERMANENT CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: It would seem, before this convention shall adjourn, that there should be read to it a telegram just received by the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson, who is not now in the city, and I shall proceed to do so. The telegram is from Governor Smith. (Applause.) It is in answer to the telegram sent by the chairman

of this convention to Governor Smith, notifying him of his nomination for President of the United States on the Democratic ticket.

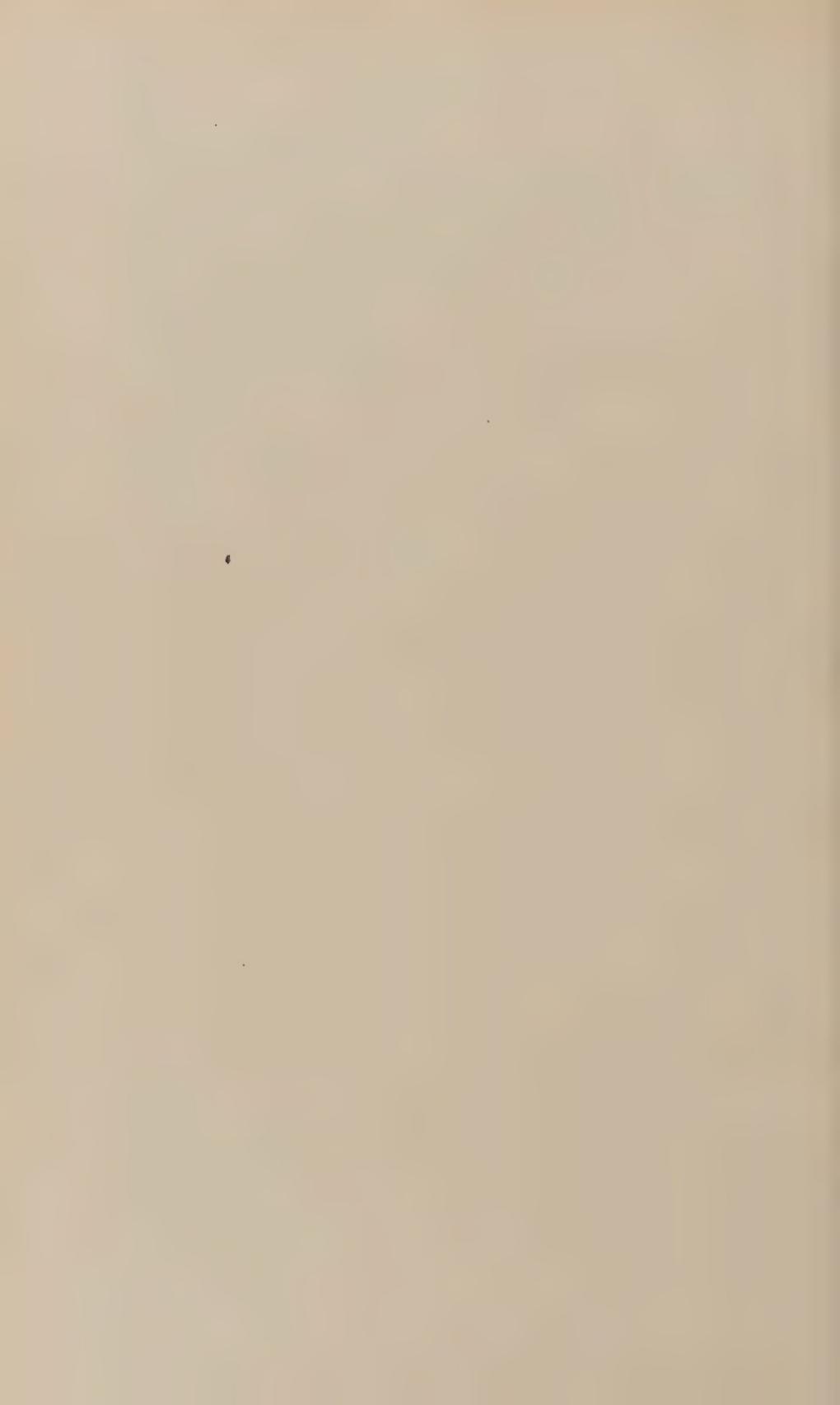
TELEGRAM FROM GOVERNOR SMITH OF NEW YORK

THE READING CLERK (reading): "Hon. Joseph T. Robinson, Chairman, Democratic National Convention, Houston, Texas: I received your message on behalf of the convention. With a deep sense of responsibility and a fervent prayer for the guidance of Divine Providence, I accept the call of my party to lead it in the national campaign. I can think of no greater privilege in this world than to serve our country. My gratitude to the convention for its expression of confidence in me I can not adequately express in this telegram. I will have to make it manifest by single-minded devotion to the United States and her people in every section. (Applause.) The happiness and welfare of the millions of men, women and children who constitute the nation was the great driving force behind the doctrine enunciated by the immortal Jefferson, given life by him and carried through by Cleveland and Wilson. I am convinced that our platform voices that doctrine. I stand committed to the platform and will welcome an opportunity to reorganize and make more efficient the agencies of government, to the end that the burden of taxation may be lightened. Our platform lays at rest the absurd claim insidiously put out by Republican propaganda that the Republican Party has a monopoly upon the mechanics of prosperity. Our platform in its tariff and financial policies gives assurance to every legitimate business man, wage earner, farmer and taxpayer that prosperity will not only be conserved, but fairly distributed among all. The definite declaration of the convention to aid agriculture, and the planks dealing with labor problems are sound, progressive and sincere, as is also the party commitment to the development of our water power without alienating our God-given resources. Our plank on foreign policy states the simple truth that the divine command to 'love thy neighbor as thyself' contains no limitations, and was intended to apply as between nations. The equal and even enforcement of the law is the cornerstone upon which rests the whole structure of Democratic government. If it is the will of the people of this nation that I am to take an oath as President of the United States to protect and defend our Constitution and laws, I will execute that oath to the limit of my ability, without reservation or evasion. (Applause.) It is well known that I believe there should be fundamental changes in the present provisions for national prohibition, based, as I stated in my Jackson Day letter, on the fearless application to the problem of the principles of Jeffersonian democracy. While I fully appreciate that these changes can

only be made by the people themselves through their elected legislative representatives, I feel it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way which, in his opinion, leads to a sane, sensible solution of a condition which I am convinced is entirely unsatisfactory to the great mass of our people. (Applause.) Common honesty compels us to admit that corruption of law enforcement officials, bootlegging and lawlessness are now prevalent throughout this country. I am satisfied that without returning to the old evils that grew from the saloon, which years ago I held and still hold, was and ought always to be a defunct institution in this country, by the application of the Democratic principles of local self-government and states' rights, we can secure real temperance, respect for law, and eradication of the existing evils. In my formal acceptance of your nomination, I shall give to the people of the country my views in full upon all of the issues of the campaign. In the way that I know that you can do it, give the delegates my warmest thanks for the confidence they have reposed in me and my assurance that, with their support, I confidently expect to lead the historic Democratic Party to victory in November. Alfred E. Smith." (Applause.)

MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (of New York): Mr. Chairman, I now move that this great Democratic Convention for 1928 do adjourn sine die.

Thereupon, at 1:50 o'clock p. m., the convention adjourned sine die.



## APPENDIX



## APPENDIX

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# Proceedings upon the Notification of ALFRED E. SMITH of His Nomination by the Democratic National Convention for President of the United States

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STATE CAPITOL,  
ALBANY, NEW YORK,  
Wednesday, August 22, 1928,  
6:30 o'Clock P. M.

Notification speech of Senator Key Pittman made at Albany, New York, on August 22, 1928, upon the occasion of the official notification of Governor Alfred E. Smith of his nomination by the Houston Convention as the candidate of the National Democratic Party for election to the office of President of the United States. This official notification was given by Senator Pittman as chairman of the notification committee appointed and authorized by the National Democratic Convention.

Governor Smith:

I have the honor, sir, as chairman of the notification committee of the National Convention, to convey to you an official message from the Democracy of the United States.

Our people, at all times, irrespective of party affiliations, have been adherents of the great principles of Democracy proclaimed by Thomas Jefferson. Only unusual events, and the vicissitudes and confusion attending our swift progress, have led some of our people into the train of false gods. Only periodically have we paused, faced the facts, and reset our course—aligned our votes with our minds and our hearts.

Such a time we hold now to be upon us. The World War, notwithstanding the glory of our arms, left us dazed and disturbed. The post-war period proved to be an auspicious occasion for the forces of reaction—those greedy groups which have contrived by tenuous threads to tie themselves together under the label of Republicanism. Government reaction, and inaction, were the orders

of the day. Faced by the destructive results of war, we permitted the White House to become a cooling-off place for our emotions. We kept cool while brigandry waxed warm. We kept cool, while, as a nation, we remained morally impotent.

Unctuous and meaningless phrases became our political fetish. We forgot the need of courage. We forgot the need of honest and uncompromising action. It became heresy to the prevailing faith for a man to speak what he thought, to act as he believed. We could rant about the Constitution and we were termed statesmen, however much in practice we trampled upon the tenets of our fundamental law.

Keeping cool and keeping silent were twin tricks to keep us comatose. We permitted stark hypocrisy to have unprecedented sway. We were steeped in self-delusion. We unconsciously sinned. Our worst sin was the sin against ourselves, the sin of not being ourselves. We had lost the old gift that Jackson gave us.

Against the abject tendencies of the times we fought. Our cause was right. We did not hesitate to fight, and yet we met defeat. We realized that Republicanism has the cohesive power of selfishness, whilst Democracy is sometimes divided through the independence of individualism. We had seen dissension among our generals; we had witnessed rebellion in our ranks; we had seen our great cause obscured and belittled by petty issues and local contentions. We understand now that even a superior army, with many great generals, can not prevail unless there is a universal cause under the leadership of a great and supreme commander. We determined that never again should these mistakes happen. You, sir, stirred our patriotism and brought back to our minds the realization of our higher duties as citizens of the national government.

And so, sir, our people, in every city and hamlet, in the marts of trade, in the mines in the bowels of the earth, while following the plow, or driving their herds on the western mountain plateaus, awakened to this realization, and in their minds was born the determination to select a commander-in-chief who, under one banner, with a united party, would lead them back to democracy.

We abandoned sectionalism and let our vision search out every part of our broad country to find Democracy's national leader. In our search, our eyes involuntarily, and with peculiar unanimity, turned to the chief executive of the great state of New York, a state that contains one-tenth of the population of the United States, where exists every character of business, industry, and occupation; a state with a cosmopolitan population. There we saw a Democrat who, for four terms, had been elected governor. Our wonder grew that a man born among the masses, laboring in his

youth to educate himself and support his mother, unaided by wealth or influence, could have been elected four times as chief executive of a state that heretofore has given the Republican national ticket a vote of nine hundred thousand majority.

We studied your record as governor of the state of New York. We marveled at the economies you had accomplished, and the constructive works you had wrought. We saw, sir, that you had practiced the just and humane principles of Thomas Jefferson; that you had lived and fought in the ranks of the common people, while co-operating with and receiving the commendation of the nation's recognized statesmen. We saw your acts of justice tempered with mercy. We witnessed a plain, simple man, contending with most powerful opponents in the adjustment of the grave problems that affect human life and happiness. We saw a happy man, a broad man, of broad vision, a man of courage, without intolerance, prejudice, or hatred; a man morally and mentally honest, who has the courage to express and act upon his convictions; a man who loves his country, his fellow man, his family, and his God.

Your appointment of able, honest, and efficient men and women, to the highest offices, solely by reason of their qualifications, and without regard to influence, affiliations, or associations, convinced us of your impartiality, tolerance, and singleness of purpose. Your refusal to give your support to the ambitions of individuals or to causes which you considered unworthy, even when urged by your friends and supporters, was conclusive proof of your independence and courage.

We discovered, sir, that you had won the confidence of the people of the state of New York by your able, impartial, independent, and courageous public service in the many public offices you had filled before you became a candidate for governor. We discovered that your administration as governor of the state of New York, from your first inauguration until the present moment, has been so manly, brilliant, fair, and constructive, that you have maintained the confidence of the people in every walk of life, irrespective of political, business, or religious affiliations.

We understood then why you, a Democrat, had been elected four times chief executive of the great state of New York. We recognized and knew, sir, that you possess those great characteristics that marked Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, and Wilson. We realized that you are imbued with a love of the fundamental principles of Democracy that inspired Thomas Jefferson; that you have the courage and initiative of Andrew Jackson; that you possess the frankness and unselfish honesty of Grover Cleveland, and the broad vision and mastery of statecraft that will make immortal the name of Woodrow Wilson.

And so, sir, having discovered our ideal leader, Democrats assembled in the hundreds of thousands of precincts throughout our broad country and sent their representatives to their great National Convention at Houston. Those representatives, in response to the will of the people, without cavil or contest, upon the first ballot, with a remarkable unanimity, have selected you, sir, as the commander-in-chief of the hosts of Democracy, with full confidence that you will carry our banner to victory.

ADDRESS OF ALFRED E. SMITH OF NEW YORK ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

Upon the steps of this Capitol where twenty-five years ago I first came into the service of the state, I receive my party's summons to lead it in the nation. Within this building I learned the principles, the purposes and the functions of government and to know that the greatest privilege that can come to any man is to give himself to a nation which has reared him and raised him from obscurity to be a contender for the highest office in the gift of its people.

Here I confirmed my faith in the principles of the Democratic Party so eloquently defined by Woodrow Wilson: "First, the people as the source and their interests and desires as the text of laws and institutions. Second, individual liberty as the objective of all law." With a gratitude too strong for words and with humble reliance upon the aid of Divine Providence, I accept your summons to the wider field of action.

THE THEORY OF PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT

Government should be constructive, not destructive; progressive, not reactionary. I am entirely unwilling to accept the old order of things as the best unless and until I become convinced that it can not be made better.

It is our new world theory that government exists for the people as against the old world conception that the people exist for the government. A sharp line separates those who believe that an elect class should be the special object of the government's concern and those who believe that the government is the agent and servant of the people who create it. Dominant in the Republican Party today is the element which proclaims and executes the political theories against which the party liberals like Roosevelt and La Follette and their party insurgents have rebelled. This reactionary element seeks to vindicate the theory of benevolent

oligarchy. It assumes that a material prosperity, the very existence of which is challenged, is an excuse for political inequality. It makes the concern of the government, not people, but material things.

#### REACTION VS. PROGRESSIVISM

I have fought this spirit in my own state. I have had to fight it and to beat it, in order to place upon the statute books every one of the progressive, humane laws for whose enactment I assumed responsibility in my legislative and executive career. I shall know how to fight it in the nation.

It is a fallacy that there is inconsistency between progressive measures protecting the rights of the people, including the poor and the weak, and a just regard for the rights of legitimate business, great or small. Therefore, while I emphasize my belief that legitimate business promotes the national welfare, let me warn the forces of corruption and favoritism that Democratic victory means that they will be relegated to the rear and the front seats will be occupied by the friends of equal opportunity.

#### TAKING THE ISSUES TO THE PEOPLE

Likewise, government policy should spring from the deliberate action of an informed electorate. Of all men, I have reason to believe that the people can and do grasp the problems of the government. Against the opposition of the self-seeker and the partisan, again and again, I have seen legislation won by the pressure of popular demand, exerted after the people had had an honest, frank and complete explanation of the issues. Great questions of finance, the issuance of millions of dollars of bonds for public projects, the complete reconstruction of the machinery of the state government, the institution of an executive budget, these are but a few of the complicated questions which I, myself, have taken to the electorate. Every citizen has thus learned the nature of the business in hand and appreciated that the state's business is his business.

#### REVIVING NATIONAL IDEALS

That direct contact with the people I propose to continue in this campaign and, if I am elected, in the conduct of the nation's affairs. I shall thereby strive to make the nation's policy the true reflection of the nation's ideals. Because I believe in the idealism of the party of Jefferson, Cleveland and Wilson, my administration will be rooted in liberty under the law; liberty that means freedom to the individual to follow his own will so long as he does not harm his neighbor; the same high moral purpose in our conduct as a nation that actuates the conduct of the God-fearing

man and woman; that equality of opportunity which lays the foundation for wholesome family life and opens up the outlook for the betterment of the lives of our children.

#### PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

In the rugged honesty of Grover Cleveland there originated one of our party's greatest principles: "Public office is a public trust." That principle now takes on new meaning. Political parties are the vehicle for carrying out the popular will. We place responsibility upon the party. The Republican Party today stands responsible for the widespread dishonesty that has honey-combed its administration.

During the last presidential campaign the Republican managers were partially successful in leading the American people to believe that these sins should be charged against the individual rather than against the party. The question of personal guilt has now been thoroughly disposed of and in its place, challenging the wisdom and good judgment of the American people, is the unquestioned evidence of party guilt.

The Democratic Party asks the electorate to withdraw their confidence from the Republican Party and repose it with the Democratic Party, pledged to continue those standards of unblemished integrity which characterized every act of the administration of Woodrow Wilson.

#### A CONSTRUCTIVE CAMPAIGN

But I would not rest our claim for the confidence of the American people alone upon the misdeeds of the opposite party. Ours must be a constructive campaign.

#### FALSE PROSPERITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Republican Party builds its case upon a myth. We are told that only under the benevolent administration of that party can the country enjoy prosperity. When four million men, desirous to work and support their families, are unable to secure employment there is very little in the picture of prosperity to attract them and the millions dependent upon them.

In the year 1926, the latest figures available show that one-twentieth of one per cent of the 430,000 corporations in this country earned forty per cent of their profits; forty per cent of the corporations actually lost money; one-fourth of one per cent of these corporations earned two-thirds of the profits of all of them. Specific industries are wholly prostrate and there is widespread business difficulty and discontent among the individual business men of the country.

Prosperity to the extent that we have it is unduly concentrated and has not equitably touched the lives of the farmer, the wage-earner and the individual business man. The claim of governmental economy is as baseless as the claims that general business prosperity exists and that it can exist only under Republican administration.

#### FAILURE TO CONSOLIDATE BY REORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

When the Republican Party came into power in 1921 it definitely promised reorganization of the machinery of government, and abolition or consolidation of unnecessary and overlapping agencies. A committee was appointed. A representative of the President acted as chairman. It prepared a plan of reorganization. The plan was filed in the archives. It still remains there. After seven years of Republican control the structure of government is worse than it was in 1921. It is fully as bad as the system which existed in New York state before we secured by constitutional amendment the legislation which consolidated more than one hundred offices, commissions and boards into eighteen co-ordinated departments, each responsible to the governor. In contrast with this, the Republican Party in control at Washington, when faced with the alternative of loss of patronage for the faithful or more efficient and economical management of the government, permitted the old order to continue for the benefit of the patronage seekers.

#### INCREASED FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS

The appropriations for independent bureaus and offices not responsible to any cabinet officer increased from \$3,400,000 in 1914 to \$163,000,000 in 1921, and to \$556,000,000 in 1928. No wonder that a cabinet officer of the Republican President of 1921 said "if you could visualize the government as a business or administrative unit, you would see something like one of those grotesque spectacles of a big oyster shell to which in the course of years, big and irregular masses of barnacles have attached themselves without symmetry or relevancy." And the Chamber of Commerce of the United States said in its annual report this year: "No progress has been made on the plan of reorganization of the government's departments as advocated by the Chamber." The administration spokesman answers only: "We have given an economical administration," and that has been repeated so often that some people begin to believe it without the slightest proof. I assert that there is no proof.

The appropriation bills signed by the President of the United States for the last year are just one-half a billion dollars more

than they were for the first year of his administration. The appropriations for the Executive Department itself (the President and Vice-President) have increased more than ten per cent under President Coolidge.

The figures for expenditure as distinguished from appropriations tell the same story. Aside from interest on the public debt which has been reduced by retirement of bonds or by refinancing at lower interest rate, the actual expenditures for governmental activities during the fiscal year ending in 1928 were just \$346,000,000 more than in President Coolidge's first year.

#### INCREASED FEDERAL TAXES

If the defenders of the administration answer that taxes have been reduced, they find themselves in a similar dilemma. The total taxes collected are \$24,000,000 more than in the first year of the Coolidge administration. While tax rates have been reduced and some war-time taxes abandoned, the government actually took from the people in income taxes \$383,000,000 more during the last fiscal year than during the first year of the Coolidge administration. And even these reductions in tax rates have been brought about primarily because the administration has committed the government to appropriations authorized but not made, amounting approximately to one billion dollars, which is an obligation that is being passed on to succeeding administrations. I wish to focus the public attention on these fundamental facts and figures when it is fed with picturesque trifles about petty economies, such as eliminating stripes from mail bags and extinguishing electric lights in the offices at night.

#### TRUE VS. FALSE ECONOMY

With this has gone a governmental policy of refusal to make necessary expenditures for purposes which would have effected a real economy. The postmaster-general states that there was a large annual waste in the handling of mail, resulting from lack of modern facilities and equipment. Scarcely a large city in the country has adequate quarters for the transaction of federal business. The government pays rent in the city of Washington alone of more than one million dollars annually. It is estimated that the government is paying rentals of twenty million dollars in the nation. True economy would be effected by the erection of federal buildings, especially in the numerous instances where sites acquired many years ago have been left vacant because the administration did not desire to have these expenditures appear in the budget. It is not economy to refuse to spend money and to have our soldiers living in barracks which the chief of staff of the army recently stated were indecent and below the standard for

the meanest type of housing permitted anywhere. And the wise, properly-timed construction of needed public improvements would substantially tend to lessen the evils of unemployment.

If the people commission me to do it, I shall, with the aid of the Congress, effect a real reorganization and consolidation of governmental activities upon a business basis and institute the real economy which comes from prudent expenditure. I shall aid programs for the relief of unemployment, recognizing its deep, human and social significance, and shall strive to accomplish a national well-being resting upon the prosperity of the individual men and women who constitute the nation.

#### NO DRASTIC TARIFF CHANGES

Acting upon the principle of "Equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none," I shall ask Congress to carry out the tariff declaration of our platform. To be sure, the Republican Party will attempt in the campaign to misrepresent Democratic attitude to the tariff. The Democratic Party does not, and under my leadership will not, advocate any sudden or drastic revolution in our economic system which would cause business upheaval and popular distress. This principle was recognized as far back as the passage of the Underwood Tariff Bill. Our platform restates it in unmistakable language. The Democratic Party stands squarely for the maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor. Both can be maintained and at the same time the tariff can be taken out of the realm of politics and treated on a strictly business basis.

#### CRITICISM OF THE FORDNEY-M'CUMBER TARIFF

A leading Republican, writing in criticism of the present tariff law, said: "It stands as one of the most ill-drawn pieces of legislation in recent political history. It is probably near the actual truth to say that taking for granted some principle of protection of American business and industry, the country has prospered due to post-war conditions abroad and in spite of, rather than on account of, the Fordney-McCumber tariff." What I have just quoted is no part of a campaign document. It was written a few months ago by Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton University, writing the history of his own party.

Against the practice of legislative log rolling, Woodrow Wilson pointed the way to a remedy. It provided for the creation and maintenance of a non-political, quasi-judicial, fact-finding commission which could investigate and advise the President and Congress as to the tariff duties really required to protect American industry and safeguard the high standard of American wages. In an administration anxious to meet political obligations, the

commission has ceased to function and it has been publicly stated by former members of it that the work of the commission has been turned over to the advocates of special interests. To bring this about, it is a matter of record that the President demanded the undated resignation of one of its members before he signed his appointment.

#### RESTORATION OF EQUITABLE TARIFF

I shall restore this commission to the high level upon which President Wilson placed it, in order that, properly manned, it may produce the facts that will enable us to ascertain how we may increase the purchasing power of everybody's income or wages by the adjustment of those schedules which are now the result of log-rolling and which upon their face are extortionate and unnecessary.

Pay no attention to the Republican propaganda and accept my assurance as the leader of our party that Democratic tariff legislation will be honest. It will play no favorites. It will do justice to every element in the nation.

#### FOREIGN POLICY SPRINGS FROM THE PEOPLE

The Constitution provides that treaties with foreign powers must be ratified by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate. This is a legal recognition of the truth that in our foreign relations we must rise above party politics and act as a united nation. Any foreign policy must have its roots deep in the approval of a very large majority of our people. Therefore, no greater service was ever rendered by any President than by Woodrow Wilson, when he struck at the methods of secret diplomacy. Today we have close relations, vital to our commercial and world standing, with every other nation. I regard it, therefore, as a paramount duty to keep alive the interest of our people in these questions, and to advise the electorate as to facts and policies.

Through a long line of distinguished secretaries of state, Republican and Democratic alike, this country had assumed a position of world leadership in the endeavor to outlaw war and substitute reason for force. At the end of President Wilson's administration we enjoyed not only the friendship but the respectful admiration of the peoples of the world. Today we see unmistakable evidences of a widespread distrust of us and unfriendliness to us, particularly among our Latin-American neighbors.

#### OUR LATIN-AMERICAN POLICY

I especially stress the necessity for the restoration of cordial relations with Latin-America and I take my text from a great Republican secretary of state, Elihu Root, who said: "We con-

sider that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of the great empires. We pretend to no right, privilege or power that we do not freely concede to each one of the American republics."

#### NICARAGUA AND MEXICO

The present administration has been false to that declaration of one of its greatest party leaders. The situation in Nicaragua fairly exemplifies our departure from this high standard. The administration has intervened in an election dispute between two conflicting factions, sent our troops into Nicaragua, maintained them there for years, and this without the consent of Congress. To settle this internal dispute, our marines have died and hundreds of Nicaraguans in turn have been killed by our marines. Without consultation with Congress, the administration entered on this long-continued occupation of the territory of a supposedly friendly nation by our armed troops.

To no declaration of our platform do I more heartily commit myself than the one for the abolition of the practice of the President of entering into agreements for the settlement of internal disputes in Latin-American countries, unless the agreements have been consented to by the Senate, as provided for in the Constitution of the United States. I personally declare what the platform declares: "Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries must cease," and I specifically pledge myself to follow this declaration with regard to Mexico as well as the other Latin-American countries.

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The Monroe Doctrine must be maintained, but not as a pretext for meddling with the purely local concerns of countries which, even though they be small, are sovereign and entitled to demand and receive respect for their sovereignty. And I shall certainly do all that lies in my power to bring about the fullest concerted action between this country and all the Latin-American countries with respect to any step which it may ever be necessary to take to discharge such responsibilities to civilization as may be placed upon us by the Monroe Doctrine.

#### IMPAIRING THE ARBITRATION TREATIES

The evil effect of the administration's policy with respect to Latin-America has extended to our relations with the rest of the world. I am not one of those who contend that everything Republican is bad and everything Democratic is good. I approve the effort to renew and extend the arbitration treaties negotiated

under the administration of President Wilson. But the usefulness of those treaties as deterrents of war is materially impaired by the reservations asserted by various nations of the right to wage defensive wars as those reservations are interpreted in the light of President Coolidge's record. Defending his policies he announced on April 25, 1927, the doctrine that the person and property of a citizen are a part of the national domain, even when abroad. I do not think the American people would approve a doctrine which would give to Germany, or France, or England, or any other country, the right to regard a citizen of that country or the property of a citizen of that country situated within the borders of the United States a part of the national domain of the foreign country. Our unwarranted intervention in internal affairs in Latin-America and this specious reason for it constitute the basis upon which other countries may seek to justify imperialistic policies which threaten world peace and materially lessen the effectiveness which might otherwise lie in the multilateral treaties.

#### REAL OUTLAWRY OF WAR

The real outlawry of war must come from a more substantial endeavor to remove the causes of war and in this endeavor the Republican administration has signally failed. I am neither militarist nor jingo. I believe that the people of this country wish to live in peace and amity with the world. Freedom from entangling alliances is a fixed American policy. It does not mean, however, that great nations should not behave to one another with the same decent friendliness and fair play that self-respecting men and women show to one another.

#### LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

In 1921 there was negotiated a treaty for the limitation of the construction of battleships and battle cruisers of over ten thousand tons. It was approved without party dispute as a start of the process of removing from the backs of the toiling masses of the world the staggering burden of the hundreds of millions of dollars that are wrung from them every year for wasteful transformation into engines of destruction. For seven years the Republican administration has followed it with nothing effective. No limitation has been placed upon land armaments, submarines, vessels of war of under ten thousand tons displacement, poisonous gases or any of the other machinery devised by man for the destruction of human life. In this respect our diplomacy has been futile.

I believe the American people desire to assume their fair share of responsibility for the administration of a world of which they are a part, without political alliance with any foreign nation. I

pledge myself to a resumption of a real endeavor to make the outlawry of war effective by removing its causes and to substitute the methods of conciliation, conference, arbitration and judicial determination.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office. If, with one hand on the Bible and the other hand reaching up to heaven, I promise the people of this country that "I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," you may be sure that I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform "to make an honest endeavor to enforce the eighteenth amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT

The President does not make the laws. He does his best to execute them whether he likes them or not. The corruption in enforcement activities which caused a former Republican prohibition administrator to state that three-fourths of the dry agents were political ward heelers named by politicians without regard to civil service laws and that prohibition is the "new political pork barrel," I will ruthlessly stamp out. Such conditions can not and will not exist under any administration presided over by me.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

The second constitutional duty imposed upon the President is "To recommend to the Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Opinion upon prohibition cuts squarely across the two great political parties. There are thousands of so-called "wets and drys" in each. The platform of my party is silent upon any question of change in the law. I personally believe that there should be change and I shall advise the Congress in accordance with my constitutional duty of whatever changes I deem "necessary or expedient." It will then be for the people and the representatives in the national and state legislatures to determine whether these changes shall be made.

I will state the reasons for my belief. In a book, "Law and Its Origin," recently called to my notice, James C. Carter, one of the leaders of the bar of this country, wrote of the conditions which exist "when a law is made declaring conduct widely practiced and widely regarded as innocent to be a crime." He points out that in the enforcement of such a law "trials become scenes

of perjury and subornation of perjury; juries find abundant excuses for rendering acquittal or persisting in disagreement contrary to their oaths," and he concludes, "Perhaps worst of all is that general regard and reverence for law are impaired, a consequence the mischief of which can scarcely be estimated." These words, written years before the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead Act, were prophetic of our situation today.

#### TEMPERANCE VS. DISREGARD FOR THE LAW

I believe in temperance. We have not achieved temperance under the present system. The mothers and fathers of young men and women throughout this land know the anxiety and worry which has been brought to them by their children's use of liquor in a way which was unknown before prohibition. I believe in reverence for law. Today disregard of the prohibition laws is insidiously sapping respect for all law. I raise, therefore, what I profoundly believe to be a great moral issue involving the righteousness of our national conduct and the protection of our children's morals.

#### JEFFERSONIAN PRINCIPLES

The remedy, as I have stated, is the fearless application of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson and his followers foresaw the complex activities of this great, widespread country. They knew that in rural, sparsely settled district people would develop different desires and customs from those in densely populated sections and that if we were to be a nation united on truly national matters, there had to be a differentiation in local laws to allow for different local habits. It was for this reason that the Democratic platform in 1884 announced "We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty," and it was for this reason that Woodrow Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act.

#### MODIFICATION OF THE VOLSTEAD LAW

In accordance with this Democratic principle, some immediate relief would come from an amendment to the Volstead Law giving a scientific definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage. The present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific. Each state would then be allowed to fix its own standard of alcoholic content, subject always to the proviso that that standard could not exceed the maximum fixed by the Congress.

#### AMENDMENT TO THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

I believe, moreover, that there should be submitted to the people the question of some change in the provisions of the eighteenth amendment. Certainly no one foresaw when the amendment was

ratified the conditions which exist today of bootlegging, corruption and open violation of the law in all parts of the country. The people themselves should, after this eight years of trial, be permitted to say whether existing conditions should be rectified. I personally believe in an amendment in the eighteenth amendment which would give to each individual state itself, only after approval by a referendum popular vote of its people, the right, wholly within its borders, to import, manufacture or cause to be manufactured and sell alcoholic beverages, the sale to be made only by the state itself and not for consumption in any public place. We may well learn from the experience of other nations. Our Canadian neighbors have gone far in this manner to solve this problem by the method of sale made by the state itself and not by private individuals.

#### NO RETURN TO THE SALOON

There is no question here of the return of the saloon. When I stated that the saloon "is and ought to be a defunct institution in this country" I meant it. I mean it today. I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon.

Such a change would preserve for the dry states the benefit of a national law that would continue to make interstate shipment of intoxicating beverages a crime. It would preserve for the dry states Federal enforcement of prohibition within their own borders. It would permit to citizens of other states a carefully limited and controlled method of effectuating the popular will wholly within the borders of those states without the old evil of the saloon.

#### A SOLUTION BASED ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

Such a method would re-establish respect for law and terminate the agitation which has injected discord into the ranks of the great political parties which should be standing for the accomplishment of fundamental programs for the nation. I may fairly say even to those who disagree with me that the solution I offer is one based upon the historic policy of the Democratic Party, to assure to each state its complete right of local self-government. I believe it is a solution which would today be offered by Jefferson, or Jackson or Cleveland or Wilson, if those great leaders were with us.

#### AGRICULTURE

Publicity agents of the Republican administration have written so many articles on our general prosperity, that they have prevented the average man from having a proper appreciation of the degree of distress existing today among farmers and stock-

raisers. From 1910 to the present time the farm debt has increased by the striking sum of ten billions of dollars, or from four billion to fourteen billion dollars. The value of farm property between 1920 and 1925 decreased by twenty billions of dollars. This depression made itself felt in an enormous increase of bank failures in the agricultural districts. In 1927 there were 830 bank failures, with total liabilities of over 270 millions of dollars, almost entirely in the agricultural sections, as against 49 such failures during the last year of President Wilson's administration.

The report of November 17, 1927, of a special committee of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities states: "Incomes from farming since 1920 have not been sufficient to pay a fair return on the current value of capital used and a fair wage for the farmers' labor, or to permit farm people to maintain a standard of living comparable with other groups of like ability." The Business Men's Commission on Agriculture said in November, 1927, "Since the war, the prices of farm products have persisted in an uneconomic and unfavorable adjustment to the general scale of prices of other goods and services;" and "the disparity between urban and farm incomes has emphasized the disparity in standards of living in the rural and urban populations." "The value of farm land and farm property decreased heavily in the post-war deflation" and "large numbers of farmers have lost all their property in this process."

#### AGRICULTURE AND BUSINESS

We have not merely a problem of helping the farmer. While agriculture is one of the most individualized and independent of enterprises, still as the report of the Business Men's Commission points out, "Agriculture is essentially a public function, affected with a clear and unquestionable public interest." The country is an economic whole. If the buying power of agriculture is impaired, the farmer makes fewer trips to Main Street. The shop owner suffers because he has lost a large part of his trade. The manufacturer who supplies him likewise suffers as does the wage earner, because the manufacturer is compelled to curtail his production. And the banker can not collect his debts or safely extend further credit. This country can not be a healthy, strong economic body if one of its members, so fundamentally important as agriculture, is sick almost to the point of economic death.

The normal market among the farmers of this country for the products of industry is ten billions of dollars. Our export market according to latest available figures is, exclusive of agricultural products, approximately one billion, six hundred millions of dollars. These large figures furnish striking indication of the

serious blow to national prosperity as a whole which is struck when the buying power of the farmer is paralyzed.

#### RELIEF FOR AGRICULTURE

When, therefore, I say that I am in accord with our platform declaration that the solution of this problem must be a prime and immediate concern of the Democratic administration, I make no class appeal. I am stating a proposition as vital to the welfare of business as of agriculture.

#### RеспUBLICAN FAILURE TO REMEDY AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

With the exception of the administrations of Cleveland and Wilson, the government of this country has been in Republican hands for half a century. For nearly eight years the President and Congress have been Republican. What has been done to solve this problem? Many promises were made which have never been fulfilled. Certainly the promise of relief by tariff has not been fulfilled.

The tariff is ineffective on commodities of which there is exportable surplus without controlled sale of the surplus. Our platform points the way to make the tariff effective for crop of which we produce a surplus. There has been government interference with laws of supply and demand to benefit industry, commerce and finance. It has been one-sided because business, industry and finance would have been helped more if proper attention had been given to the condition of agriculture. Nothing of substance has been done to bring this basic part of our national life into conformity with the economic system that has been set up by law. Government should interfere as little as possible with business. But if it does interfere with one phase of economic life, be it by tariff, by assistance to merchant marine, by control of the flow of money and capital through the banking system, it is bad logic, bad economics and an abandonment of government responsibility to say that as to agriculture alone, the government should not aid.

Twice a Republican Congress has passed legislation only to have it vetoed by a President of their own party, and whether the veto of that specific measure was right or wrong, it is undisputed that no adequate substitute was ever recommended to the Congress by the President and that no constructive plan of relief was ever formulated by any leader of the Republican Party in place of the plan which its Congress passed and its President vetoed. Only caustic criticism and bitter denunciation were provoked in the minds of the Republican leaders in answer to the nation-wide appeal for a sane endeavor to meet this crisis.

**MARKETING, WAREHOUSING AND SURPLUS CONTROL**

Co-operative, co-ordinated marketing and warehousing of surplus farm products is essential just as co-ordinated, co-operative control of the flow of capital was found necessary to the regulation of our country's finances. To accomplish financial stability, the Federal Reserve System was called into being by a Democratic administration. The question for agriculture is complex. Any plan devised must also be co-ordinated with the other phases of our business institutions. Our platform declares for the development of co-operative marketing and an earnest endeavor to solve the problem of the distribution of the cost of dealing with crop surpluses over the marketed unit of the crop whose producers are benefited by such assistance. Only the mechanics remain to be devised. I propose to substitute action for inaction and friendliness for hostility. In my administration of the government of my state, whenever I was confronted with a problem of this character, I called into conference those best equipped on the particular subject in hand. I shall follow that course with regard to agriculture. Farmers and farm leaders with such constructive aid as will come from sound economists and fair minded leaders of finance and business must work out the detail. There are varying plans for the attainment of the end which is to be accomplished. Such plans should be subjected at once to searching, able and fair minded analysis, because the interests of all require that the solution shall be economically sound.

**PLEDGE OF IMMEDIATE RELIEF**

If I am elected, I shall immediately after election ask leaders of the type I have named irrespective of party to enter upon this task. I shall join with them in the discharge of their duties during the coming winter and present to Congress immediately upon its convening, the solution recommended by the body of men best fitted to render this signal service to the nation. I shall support the activities of this body until a satisfactory law is placed upon the statute books.

**DISTRIBUTION, RAILROADS AND HIGHWAYS**

Adequate distribution is necessary to bring a proper return to production. Increased efficiency of railroad transportation and terminal handling means lowering of cost which in turn reflects itself in the form of increased purchasing power through reduction in the cost of every-day necessities of life.

Nor do railroads exhaust means of transportation. I believe in encouraging the construction and use of modern highways to carry

the short haul of small bulk commodities and to aid in effective marketing of farm products.

#### INLAND WATERWAYS

Of great importance and still in a highly undeveloped state are our transportation routes by waterways. Commodities of great bulk, where the freight cost is a large part of the cost to the ultimate consumer, are among the least profitable to railroads to carry and lend themselves most readily to water transportation.

#### ST. LAWRENCE ROUTE VS. ALL-AMERICAN ROUTE

Certain areas of our country are deeply interested in opening up a direct route from the middle west to the sea by way of the Great Lakes and adjacent waterways. Controversy has arisen over the relative merits of the St. Lawrence route or the All-American route. As governor of New York, I have heretofore expressed a preference for the All-American route, basing my view on engineers' reports to me. The correctness of these reports and also of those favoring the St. Lawrence route has been challenged. As President of the United States, therefore, it would be my clear duty to restudy this question impartially upon engineers' reports the accuracy of which must be above question. When the results of such a study are given to Congress, I am entirely willing to abide by the decision of Congress.

#### FLOOD CONTROL

With the development of inland waterways goes the control of floods thereon. The Mississippi flood of last year brought home to the nation the imperative need for a national policy of flood control. The last two administrations waited for this calamity and for universal demand that something be done instead of taking leadership in this important work. Forethought, courage, and leadership and knowledge of what real ultimate economy means would have done much to prevent this calamity with its ensuing waste and misery. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of first aid and relief. In the last Congress the Reid-Jones Bill laid down sound lines for the solution of this great problem. The policy thus initiated for the Mississippi must be carried through. The money actually appropriated for flood relief is too small to make even a start. Too much time has been spent in squabbling over who shall pay the bill.

#### MISSISSIPPI BASIN DEVELOPMENT

The Mississippi River and its tributaries constitute a great network of waterways flowing through a large number of states. Much more than flood control is involved. Fullest development

of the Mississippi River and its tributaries as arteries of commerce should be the goal.

#### CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Wide possibilities for public good are latent in what remains of our natural resources. I pledge myself to a progressive liberal conservation policy based upon the same principles to which I have given my support in the state of New York, and to fight against selfish aggression in this field wherever it appears and irrespective of whom it may involve. No nation in history has been more careless about the conservation of natural resources than has ours. We have denuded our forests. We have been slow to reclaim lands for development and have allowed to run to waste or have given to private exploitation our public waters with their great potential power for the development of electrical energy.

#### WATER POWER

The value of this heritage can best be measured when we consider the recent disclosures of the methods employed by private monopolies to wrest our remaining water powers from public control.

#### PUBLIC UTILITY PROPAGANDA

No more dishonest or unpatriotic propaganda has ever been seen in this country than that disclosed by the investigation into the methods of certain utility corporations. Private corporations to gain control of public resources have procured the writing of textbooks for the public schools; have subsidized lecturers pretending to give to the country their own honest and unbiased advice; have employed as their agents former public officials and have endeavored to mislead public opinion by the retention of the services of leaders of the community in various parts of the country. Highly paid lobbyists penetrated into every state and into the legislative halls of the nation itself.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF WATER POWER

As against propaganda, it is the duty of the Democratic Party to set up truth. The ownership of some of these great water powers is in the nation, of others in the several states. These sources of water power must remain forever under public ownership and control. Where they are owned by the federal government, they should remain under federal control. Where they are owned by an individual state, they should be under the control of that state, or where they are owned by states jointly, they should be under the control of those states.

#### CONTROL OF RATES THROUGH PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Wherever the development, the government agency, state or federal as the case may be, must retain through contractual agreement with the distributing companies the right to provide fair and reasonable rates to the ultimate consumer and the similar right to insist upon fair and equal distribution of the power. This can be secured only by the absolute retention by the people of the ownership of the power by owning and controlling the site and plant at the place of generation. The government—federal, state or the authority representing joint states—must control the switch that turns on or off the power so greedily sought by certain private groups without the least regard for the public good.

I shall carry into federal administration the same policy which I have maintained against heavy odds in my own state. Under no circumstances should private monopoly be permitted to capitalize for rate-making purposes water power sites that are the property of the people themselves. It is to me unthinkable that the government of the United States or any state thereof will permit either direct or indirect alienation of water power sites.

#### COLORADO RIVER

Electrical energy generated from water power as an incident to the regulation of the flow of the Colorado River is the common heritage of all the states through which the river flows. The benefits growing from such development should be equitably distributed among the states having right of ownership. The duty of the federal government is confined to navigation. I am of the opinion that the best results would flow from the setting up of a Colorado River Authority, representative equally of all the states concerned. The development should be by the states through the agency of this authority by treaty ratified by Congress.

#### MUSCLE SHOALS

It will be the policy of my administration while retaining government ownership and control, to develop a method of operation for Muscle Shoals which will reclaim for the government some fair revenue from the enormous expenditure already made for its development and which is now a complete waste. In this way the original peace-time purpose of the construction of this plant will be achieved. The nation will be reimbursed, agriculture will be benefited by the cheap production of nitrates for fertilizer and the surplus power will be distributed to the people.

The remaining public natural resources now under control of the federal government must be administered in the interests of all of the people.

Likewise a complete survey and study of the remaining undeveloped public resources of land, coal, oil and other minerals is greatly needed and should be undertaken.

#### REFORESTATION, CONSERVATION, NATIONAL PARKS

The United States because its people use more wood than any other on earth is therefore more dependent on the forest than any other great nation. At the same time we are the most wasteful of all people in the destruction of our forest resources.

The use of our national forests for recreation should be greatly extended. I also pledge myself to give the same continuing interest and support to a national park, reforestation and recreation program as have brought about the establishment of a great Conservation and State Park System in the state of New York.

It was Grover Cleveland who first made our national forest and conservation policy into a great public question. Theodore Roosevelt followed in his footsteps. What these two men began must be continued and carried forward.

#### LABOR

The American people constitute a structure of many component parts. One of its foundations is labor. The reasonable contentment of those who toil with the conditions under which they live and work is an essential basis of the nation's well-being. The welfare of our country therefore demands governmental concern for the legitimate interest of labor.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND PLATFORM IN RELATION TO LABOR

The Democratic Party has always recognized this fact and under the administration of Woodrow Wilson, a large body of progressive legislation for the protection of those laboring in industry, was enacted. Our platform continues that tradition of the party. We declare for the principle of collective bargaining which alone can put the laborer upon a basis of fair equality with the employer; for the human principle that labor is not a commodity; for fair treatment to government and federal employees; and for specific and immediate attention to the serious problems of unemployment.

#### ABUSE OF INJUNCTIONS IN LABOR DISPUTES

From these premises it was inevitable that our platform should further recognize grave abuses in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes which threaten the very principle of collective bargaining. Chief Justice Taft in 1919 stated that government of the relations between capital and labor by injunction was an absurdity. Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis of the United

States Supreme Court unite in an opinion which describes the restraints on labor imposed by a federal injunction as a reminder of involuntary servitude.

Dissatisfaction and social unrest have grown from these abuses and undoubtedly legislation must be framed to meet just causes for complaint in regard to the unwarranted issuance of injunctions.

The Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate has already in progress a careful study of this situation. I promise full co-operation to the end that a definite remedy by law be brought forth to end the existing evils and preserve the constitutional guarantees of individual liberty, free assemblage and speech and the rights of peaceful persuasion.

#### PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION

I shall continue my sympathetic interest in the advancement of progressive legislation for the protection and advancement of working men and women. Promotion of proper care of maternity, infancy and childhood and the encouragement of those scientific activities of the national government which advance the safeguards of public health, are so fundamental as to need no expression from me other than my record as legislator and as governor.

#### EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

None can question my respect for and co-operation with the Civil Service nor my interest in proper compensation for government service. I believe in that true equality of women that opens to them without restriction all avenues of opportunity for which they can qualify in business, in government service and in politics.

#### VETERAN RELIEF

I have a full appreciation of what this country owes to our veteran soldiers. I know that when the country called, the veteran came promptly. When the veteran in distress calls to the country, the country should be equally prompt. Red tape and technicalities and autocratic bureaucracy should be brushed aside when the time comes for a grateful American people to recognize its debt to the men who offered themselves in our hour of need.

#### IMMIGRATION

During all of our national life the freedom of entry to the country has been extended to the millions who desired to take advantage of the freedom and the opportunities offered by America. The rugged qualities of our immigrants have helped to develop our country and their children have taken their places high in the annals of American history..

Every race has made its contribution to the betterment of America. While I stand squarely on our platform declaration that the laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, I am heartily in favor of removing from the immigration law the harsh provision which separates families, and I am opposed to the principle of restriction based upon the figures of immigrant population contained in a census thirty-eight years old. I believe this is designed to discriminate against certain nationalities, and is an unwise policy. It is in no way essential to a continuance of the restriction advocated in our platform.

#### FREEDOM FROM POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS

While this is a government of laws and not of men, laws do not execute themselves. We must have people of character and outstanding ability to serve the nation. To me one of the greatest elements of satisfaction in my nomination is the fact that I owe it to no one man or set of men. I can with complete honesty make the statement that my nomination was brought about by no promise given or implied by me or any one in my behalf. I will not be influenced in appointments by the question of a person's wet or dry attitude, by whether he is rich or poor, whether he comes from the north, south, east or west, or by what church he attends in the worship of God. The sole standard of my appointments will be the same as they have been in my governorship—integrity of the man or woman and his or her ability to give me the greatest possible aid in devoted service to the people.

In this spirit I enter upon the campaign. During its progress I shall talk at length on many of the issues to which I have referred in this acceptance address, as well as other important questions. I shall endeavor to conduct this campaign on the high plane that befits the intelligence of our citizens.

Victory, simply for the sake of achieving it, is empty. I am entirely satisfied of our success in November because I am sure we are right and therefore sure that our victory means progress for our nation. I am convinced of the wisdom of our platform. I pledge a complete devotion to the welfare of our country and our people. I place that welfare above every other consideration and I am satisfied that our party is in a position to promote it. To that end I here and now declare to my fellow countrymen from one end of the United States to the other, that I will dedicate myself with all the power and energy that I possess to the service of our great Republic.

# Proceedings upon the Notification of Joseph T. Robinson of His Nomina- tion by the Democratic National Convention for Vice-Presi- dent of the United States

HOTEL ARLINGTON,  
HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS,  
August 30, 1928,  
Thursday, 8:30 p. m.  
Central Standard Time.

## ADDRESS OF CLAUDE G. BOWERS FORMALLY NOTIFY- ING SENATOR ROBINSON OF HIS NOMINATION

At Houston we witnessed the mobilization of the army of Democracy. The ceremonies tonight close the preliminaries before the battle. Tomorrow comes the thunder of the guns; and in November the pean of the triumph of our cause.

We come from the National Convention to the state of Augustus Garland to place the commission of command in the hands of a militant son of Arkansas who has richly earned the admiration and affection of millions of Americans from sea to sea. We bid him go forth to battle for the fundamental principles of the party that are rooted in the finest traditions of our people.

All the fundamental principles of Democracy may be concentrated on a page. Take the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, the whole of the Bill of Rights, and the historic passages from Jefferson's first inaugural address and you have all the elementals of the party's faith.

Never have these fundamental principles been more generally ignored or renounced in administration than they are today. The imperative need of the hour is for less centralization and more self-government, less bureaucracy and more democracy, less intricacy in the governmental machinery and more of the simplicity of common sense, less red tape and more red blood, less privilege and more equality, less cynicism and a greater capacity in federal officials for righteous wrath and instant action when corruption appears in the public service.

The nation has suffered during the last seven and a half years from the lack of courageous and constructive action. We need a

real leadership that is inherent in the man, and not that which is dependent on the printer. With a depreciation of thirty billion dollars in the value of farm lands and equipment in five years of this administration, the failure to find a remedy is a confession of incapacity in constructive statesmanship.

But our indictment of the failures of the present regime is not based wholly on the lack of constructive ability, but in part on the unresponsiveness of the heart. It was bad enough to make no move to solve the problem of the tillers of the soil; it was downright wicked to manifest no sympathy with the farmers' plight.

And that brings us to another need—the injection of more of the human spirit into the processes of government. We have been living under a regime which assumes that the functions of government are confined to the keeping of books, the collecting of taxes and the paying of bills. We are hungering today for men in power who know that the primary function of government is to contribute to the happiness and comfort of men, women and children.

Thus we propose to humanize government, and make it an organized agency of human welfare.

And we enter the campaign with confidence since we have the cause, we have the principles, we have the incentive, we have the will, and through such leaders as we have summoned to the bearing of the standard we shall find the way.

In the Houston Convention we placed the supreme command in the hands of a man of the people who has captivated millions by a rare combination of the qualities of mind and heart. We need not rely on printer's ink to humanize our candidate, for nature made him human and humane. He has demonstrated an unquestioned genius in state craft. He has the eye of a realist, and he recognizes problems when he sees them. He has vision—and he finds a plan for their solution. He has constructive initiative, and he puts it into form. He has courage and honesty—and he submits it to the people. He has the red blood of a two-fisted fighting man and he fights it through. And that is the reason that he has literally made over the governmental machinery of New York, given a new dignity to state sovereignty, and written his name indelibly into history as one of the greatest creative forces among all the brilliant and able executives of a mighty commonwealth.

Having selected one of the distinguished leaders of the north, the convention turned for his running mate to the section that has been prolific in leaders and political thinkers since long before the establishment of the republic. It is the section that gave us the sword of Washington, the philosophy of Jefferson, the constructive genius of Madison, the foreign policy of Monroe, the democracy

of Jackson. I know of nothing so utterly without rhyme or reason as the exclusion for generations from the two highest honors of the nation of the statesmen of this section, and this ceremony is all the more historic, and gratifying to this committee because it has the honor of bearing a commission of leadership from the Democracy of the nation to one of the most gifted and thoroughly tested of the sons of the South.

Your fellow Democrats turned to you, Senator Robinson, because of your seasoned statesmanship, your established leadership, the robust quality of your Democracy, the Jeffersonian character of your political concepts, and your fine fidelity to American ideals. They have noted with increasing respect and admiration your position in the Senate on the corruption that has shamed our people, and toward those knocking for admission at the Senate door with tainted credentials in their hands. You have stood for the ideals of the nation, for the conscience and the liberties of the people, and for a militant championship of those principles and policies that we believe essential to the welfare of the state. In presenting you with this notification and commission, the highest testimonial of public confidence, and bidding you go forth to battle for the cause, we know that in accordance with your custom, you will fight the good fight, and keep the faith, and contribute mightily to the inevitable victory in November.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR JOE T. ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS,  
ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION OF THE DEMO-  
CRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES

The attention of the public throughout the United States is being concentrated on political affairs to a degree of intensity never before known.

Voters are interested, not alone in the problems and issues with which the campaign is expected to deal, but also in the personal characteristics of the candidates.

The preliminary events of the contest indicate that in order to avoid bitterness, the leaders on both sides must display a sense of justice and fairness by refusing to become the beneficiaries of political influences and processes which they themselves are unwilling to employ. In this way, and in no other, may the poisons of slander and libel be counteracted and overcome.

The quadrennial political contest for which our elective system is notable presents an inspiring spectacle when conducted in accordance with high standards of ethics. No better evidence can

be produced of the soundness of the Democratic theory of government than recognition of the right of the people to govern themselves through the selection of official representatives.

Numerous political serpents are hissing in the dark and striking from cover, and with venomous malice seek to poison the thoughts and arouse the prejudice of those who will decide issues of far-reaching importance.

Sound public policy encourages full, frank and fearless discussion of issues and records. It discountenances misrepresentation, perversion and falsehood. No end aimed at by an individual or a political organization can justify the secret or open employment of corrupt or otherwise dishonorable means. The spokesman of a party has the duty to tell the whole truth, and is justified in urging conclusions which his conscience approves, however distasteful or harmful they may be to the opposition. He proves himself unworthy if he knowingly accepts advantage from falsehood, even though not uttered or inspired by himself.

In the hope that frankness, sincerity and fairness may govern throughout the campaign, and that they may be tempered by the spirit of charity which constitutes the sublimest attribute of our Christian civilization, the discussion of the measures at issue is entered upon in the belief that the wisdom of the voters will correctly and justly decide between the two great parties which present their candidates and platforms.

It will not be practicable in this address to touch upon all of the issues raised. Many subjects of importance necessarily are reserved for comment hereafter.

#### AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Perhaps the most important issue in this campaign arises out of the attitude of the two major parties toward the problems affecting agriculture.

Both platforms recognize the distressed condition of the industry, and embrace promises, the relative value of which is apparent from a comparison of the two pronouncements.

The Republican platform on the subject of farm relief is not readily distinguishable from that of 1924, pledging the party "to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor."

The farm problem had appeared in December of 1921, when President Harding requested the former Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, to call a conference. The conference was held in January, 1921, and a resolution adopted calling upon the President and the Congress "to take such steps as would immediately re-es-

tablish a fair exchange value for all farm products with that of all other commodities."

The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, took the lead in the preparation of a measure which has become widely known as the McNary-Haugen Bill. Prior to the national conventions of 1924 it was defeated in the House of Representatives, and consequently was not considered by the Senate during that session.

This was the situation when the promise of 1924 was made by the Republican Party "to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor." \* \* \*

To regain the confidence of the millions of voters who experienced disappointment in the failure of his party to keep its pledge, President Coolidge announced during the campaign of 1924 that he would call an agricultural conference to consider legislation for the next session of Congress.

The first report of this conference was transmitted by the President to the Congress January 28, 1925, embracing the following amazing recommendations:

"There must, therefore, be established a balanced American agriculture by which production is kept in step with the demand of domestic markets and with only such foreign markets as may be profitable."

Thus originated the doctrine of which Mr. Herbert Hoover, Republican nominee for President, became a champion, that agricultural production should be limited to the demands of our domestic markets.

This report also contained recommendations which the President strongly approved for legislation on the subject of co-operative marketing.

The legislation suggested followed the general line of the Capper-Williams Bill recommended by Mr. Hoover. It met with opposition from all the principal farm organizations, and was defeated in the House. However, another Co-operative Marketing Bill was passed.

One of the principal distinctions between the two measures is that the administration bill placed co-operative marketing associations under government control, while the bill which passed the House gave the co-operatives certain government assistance with self-control. The latter bill was never brought to a vote in the Senate.

In the short session of Congress which expired March 4, 1924, the McNary-Haugen Bill, modified, was reported by the committees on agriculture in both the House and the Senate, but did not come to a vote in either body.

In the Pacific Ruralist of February 7, 1924, Secretary Hoover, outlining his views on the agricultural question, said:

"Generally the fundamental need is a balancing of agricultural production to our home demand."

This plan announced by Mr. Hoover for the alleged relief of agriculture, contemplated the contraction of the farm industry so that production in excess of the home demand would be eliminated, and the export field left entirely to the industrial exporter.

During the session of 1925-1926 the McNary-Haugen Bill was added as a committee amendment to House Bill 7893, to create a Division of Co-operative Marketing in the Department of Agriculture. The amendment was defeated and the bill was passed as it came from the House.

Numerous other bills, perhaps fifty, designed to promote agricultural prosperity were introduced, but not one of them was strong enough to receive a vote in either house.

The sixty-ninth Congress passed the McNary-Haugen Bill by a vote of fifty-seven per cent of the Democrats and fifty-two per cent of the Republicans. President Coolidge vetoed the bill.

During the last session the bill was modified to meet many of the objections urged by the President in his first veto message, and again passed both houses by increased majorities. For a second time the President vetoed the bill.

This is a partial recapitulation of the events which disclose that throughout the last eight years the Republican Party has admitted the urgent character of the agricultural problem. These facts prove also that the Republican Party is either incapable of successfully dealing with the question or has deliberately violated its express promises to the farmers of the nation. It would seem that eight years have afforded ample time for action, and that a political organization which has had every opportunity which these years could bring to obtain beneficial results should not now be heard to ask for a renewal of its lease on power merely to repeat the old promises which have been so often broken. But the argument does not end at this point.

Mr. Hoover, as the President's trusted adviser, is perhaps more directly responsible for the failure of farm relief legislation during the eight years referred to than any other single political leader. His present position touching legislation for agricultural relief marks no material advance. In his speech of acceptance it is asserted:

"The most urgent economic problem in our nation today is in agriculture. \* \* \* Differences of opinion as to both causes and remedies have retarded the completion of a constructive program of relief. \* \* \*

This language expressly recognizes the persistence of the problem and what is more significant, the failure of his party to advance "a constructive program of relief."

What are the methods suggested by the nominee for President in his interpretation of the Republican platform?

1. He asserts: "An adequate tariff is the foundation of farm relief."

Will the farmers of the United States, who have waited eight years for Mr. Hoover and his associates to serve them, accept the tariff as a remedy "for depression in farm products" whose domestic prices are controlled in markets not shielded by the tariff wall? Our farmers usually produce for export large quantities of wheat, corn, cotton and other staple products. Increased tariffs can afford no relief.

2. The next proposal in Mr. Hoover's acceptance speech is the development of inland waterways.

No political party opposes the improvement of rivers and harbors; but if the farmers of the United States must wait until transportation rates are sufficiently reduced by means of water ways to bring them prosperity, they may as well give up the fight and accept the humiliation and ruin which has threatened them throughout the last eight years.

3. The remaining feature of Mr. Hoover's plan for farm relief is the stimulation of co-operative marketing by advancing federal credits.

The co-operative marketing system has long been recognized by many members of both parties as helpful, but if it is to be regarded as of controlling value in the solution of the farm problem, why have the administrations in which Mr. Hoover has served as a Cabinet member failed to apply this remedy with promptness?

Contrast with this record of feebleness and failure the Democratic policy for the improvement of agriculture:

1. We repudiate Mr. Hoover's proposal to limit farm production to the domestic demand, as calculated to belittle, rather than to encourage the great industry of agriculture.

Wheat, cotton and other farm products have long contributed to the maintenance of our balance of trade. In 1927 we sold to other nations cotton amounting to \$959,000,000; wheat sold abroad helped to swell our exports \$324,000,000. If Mr. Hoover's suggestion should be carried out, hundreds of thousands of farmers and their families would lose their property and be driven from their homes, to swell even further the ranks of unemployed in the urban centers.

2. The Democratic Party recognizes the right of farmers to lead in the development of farm policies.

One of the reasons the Republican Party has failed is that it has relied on the judgment of politicians and rejected the opinions of men whose interests and associations have prompted them to devote lifelong study to farm problems.

3. That adequate credit facilities and better administration of the Farm Loan system be assured in the interest of farmers.

The mismanagement of this system during the last few years has aroused the fears of many that it may be wrecked or its effectiveness greatly impaired if present policies are continued.

4. The necessity is recognized by the Democratic Party for an organized agriculture through which the farmer may work out and apply his own remedies, as well as receive government aid, through a Federal Farm Board.

5. The creation of a Federal Farm Board and the financing of co-operative associations to deal with the crop surpluses.

While the equalization fee provided for in the McNary-Haugen bill is not expressly approved, the Democratic platform does recognize the principle of distributing the cost of operations with respect to surplus crops over the marketed units whose producers are benefited thereby.

If a more equitable and effective plan than that comprised by the equalization fee is discovered, it should be adopted. The time has come, however, when an economic adventure is justified in behalf of the millions who engage in that industry without which civilization could not survive. The Democratic nominee for President has committed himself to prompt and decisive action in accordance with the principles outlined in our platform.

#### ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION

There has always been room in the Democratic Party for those who differ as to the best means of promoting temperance and of suppressing the traffic in alcoholic beverages. A proposal for changes in the existing national prohibition system, and also a resolution approving the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, were submitted to the committee on Platform and Resolutions of the Houston convention. Neither was adopted.

Both the committee and the convention, after prolonged hearings, recognized the futility of attempting to secure unanimity for either contention. The committee reported, and the convention unanimously adopted, a declaration in the following language:

"The Republican Party, for eight years in complete control of the government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled in its national platform to promise obedience

to a provision of the federal Constitution which is has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the Congress of the United States.

"Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the eighteenth amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

This provision condemns the Republican Party for insincerity in promising obedience to the eighteenth amendment after having flagrantly disregarded for eight years that amendment and the law for its enforcement. The convention recognized that the Democratic Party is neither a prohibition nor an anti-prohibition organization, but if entrusted with power its duty would be to enforce all laws.

To one who for twenty-five years has uniformly supported measures for prohibition, it has been disappointing to note the methods and agencies employed by the Republican Party in the enforcement of national prohibition laws.

The question should not be treated as merely political, but rather as moral and economic. Some claiming to be reformers, have clouded the subject with confusion and misunderstanding. They have discredited the motives of those who display moderation and fairness in public discussions and have questioned the loyalty to the cause of temperance of all who are dissatisfied with present conditions.

President Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act. The integrity of his purpose was not questioned; his good faith was generally conceded.

The Democratic candidate for President, Governor Alfred E. Smith, declared in his telegram to the convention:

"The equal and even enforcement of the law is the corner stone on which rests the whole structure of Democratic government. If it is the will of the people of this nation that I am to take an oath as President of the United States to protect and defend our Constitution and laws, I will execute that oath to the limit of my ability without reservation or evasion."

This language is an unqualified acceptance of the obligation to enforce the law to the best of his ability.

Throughout the last two administrations the Prohibition Bureau has been under the Treasury Department, whose head, prior to national prohibition, was largely interested in the liquor business.

Mr. Vare, who thwarted the movement to "stop Hoover" at Kansas City and forced Mr. Hoover's nomination, claimed election to the Senate on a platform containing a single plank—the repeal of national prohibition.

Can it be said that because Governor Smith believes that, without returning to the old evils of the saloon, temperance and respect for law can be promoted through changes in the existing system, he is a nullificationist and an enemy of the Constitution? Such arguments impeach the intelligence of their authors.

It is certain that only such modifications as meet with the approval of public opinion are possible, no matter who serves as President.

Having in mind that the law for enforcement of prohibition has been discredited because good faith efforts have not been made for its enforcement, the conclusion is asserted that a breakdown is not threatened by mere proposals for modification, but rather by indifference of the public to proper execution and by corruption and inefficiency of many enforcement officers. It is recognized that the people constitute the reservoir of all political power and have the right, in the constitutional manner, to call for changes in either or both the Constitution and the law. The Executive has no power to modify either. It is in no sense an attempt at nullification to suggest changes in the Constitution or the law. Nullification consists in refusal or willful failure to enforce.

To summarize, the Democratic platform does not commit the party for or against modification. It does pledge the nominees to an honest effort to enforce the eighteenth amendment and the laws enacted pursuant thereto. Governor Smith has promised his best efforts to enforce prohibition. His personal opinion that the law or the Constitution should be changed to make certain better observance and enforcement, does not effect his disposition or ability to perform that duty.

#### MERCHANT MARINE

An adequate merchant marine is recognized by the Democratic Party as essential to the safety of the nation and the independence of its commerce.

When it became apparent that the United States might become involved in the late World War, which began in 1914, her merchant marine had almost disappeared from the seas. President Wilson announced a policy which in the emergency met with general approval. The Democratic Congress gave effect to his recommendations and provided liberal appropriations for the construction of ships for the carriage of our commerce. Democrats have never advocated and do not favor, as a permanent policy, government ownership and operation of shipping lines if private enterprise will provide the funds and agencies required to give American shippers the necessary carrying service under our own flag. The Republican Party has been quick to respond to private in-

fluences and the propaganda of our rivals in commerce, while Democrats have been concerned primarily with the interests of our own people. We have refused to approve reckless sacrifice and favoritism in the sale of vessels. We have insisted that the service of the United States Shipping Board shall be continued without discrimination against sections or ports until it becomes practicable to transfer the lines for private operation under conditions that will protect our commerce in peace times against discriminations which are certain to be imposed upon it if transported largely under foreign flags; and it must be made certain that in the event of war the merchant vessels, reasonably required as auxiliaries to naval operations, shall be available for prompt use without reliance upon the shipping facilities of other powers.

While the necessity for government ships continues, and until they can be transferred under satisfactory conditions for private operation, the service should be kept efficient and should be improved to meet competition with foreign lines and to provide for the expansion of our commerce.

#### POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Honesty in public affairs is of transcendent importance. Corruption is the red signal of decadence. Corrupt elections breed dishonest public officers. That this issue exists is proved by the fact that both of the major parties have so declared in their platforms. That the platform makers at Kansas City dread the issue is shown in their effort to anticipate the declaration on the subject by the Democratic Party.

While rare cases of fraud may be regarded as unavoidable in any business comparable in volume to that of the United States, it becomes a matter of general political concern when the party in power proves so derelict as to fail to prevent shocking and repeated departures from standards of common honesty in the transaction of the public business. The basis for the platform declarations referred to is found in notorious and criminal breaches of duty in several of the executive departments—instances which have come to light during the last seven years. The wholesale frauds perpetrated by Republican office holders since March 4, 1921, have prompted pledges in language which implies recognition of the necessity for reform.

In the Kansas City platform it is asserted by the Republicans: "We stand for honesty in government, for the appointment of officials whose integrity can not be questioned." \* \* \*

If this principle had been applied by the Republican administration it would not have been necessary for the Senate to advise the discharge of an Attorney General who had flagrantly disre-

garded the obligations of his office and contributed to the pollution of the fountain of justice. The country would have been spared the spectacle of the Executive sustaining this faithless officer until public sentiment compelled dismissal; and the dismissal would have been made without an expression of confidence in the faithless officer by the Chief Executive. If the reputation of the government had been duly safeguarded, there would have been no necessity for the Senate to urge the retirement of the Secretary of the Navy who had blindly approved the corrupt contract by which the nation's oil reserves were bartered to private interests through the bribery of a fellow cabinet officer, the Secretary of the Interior. Surely it is of greater consequence that a national administration shall sustain and justify the public confidence by the prompt dismissal of faithless cabinet officers than that the feelings of such officers shall be spared by retaining them in authority after their misconduct has been disclosed.

Breaches of trust in the Veterans' Bureau and in the Alien Property Custodian's office; the secret exaction of enormous campaign funds from despoilers of the public domain; and the widespread sale of favors and appointments by patronage dispensers disclose conditions which should have been corrected long ago and which make the platform declaration of the Republican Party for "honesty in government" and for "the appointment of officials whose integrity can not be questioned," appear insincere and for the purpose of securing another lease on power.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to "rescue the government from those who have betrayed their trust by disgracing it"; and supports its claim to the confidence of the voters by comparing the last eight years of Republican maladministration with the record of our great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson. During his presidency, to the usual administrative responsibilities were added the duty of carrying on the greatest war of all times. Numerous committees of investigation created by the opposition after it had secured control of the Congress immediately following the war disclosed no breach of trust, no instance of dishonesty on the part of any Democratic office holder.

Throughout almost four terms the Democratic nominee for President has served as Chief Executive of New York. During all his service the searchlight of hostile scrutiny has been thrown in full glare on his administrations. That Governor Smith's record has stood the test is evidence of that extraordinary executive ability and fearlessness required in a President of the United States, who is expected to safeguard the government against such thieves and crooks as have plundered it during recent years.

Campaign contributions and fair elections are intimately re-

lated to honest government. Here again both platforms recognize an issue.

The Republicans say:

"Economy, honesty and decency in the conduct of political campaigns are a necessity if representative government is to be preserved to the people and political parties are to hold the respect of the citizens at large.

"The campaign of 1924 complied with all these requirements. It was a campaign, the expenses of which were carefully budgeted in advance, and which, at the close, presented a surplus and not a deficit."

If the spirit of these declarations had governed, the former Chairman of the Republican National Committee could not have secretly extorted or received from a beneficiary of the naval oil lease large amounts in Liberty Bonds for the payment of a deficit coming over from the 1920 campaign, and without the payment of which the budget of 1924 could not have been balanced without disclosing the arrangements which would have forfeited public confidence in the campaign methods of the Republican Party. The secret procurement of Liberty Bonds derived from a corrupt business transaction in oil, and the effort by the former Chairman of the Republican National Committee to distribute the bonds among cabinet officers, Senators and other Republicans of great prestige; the deliberate concealment of the plan from the Senate Committee of Investigation discloses practices at variance with the pledge now made not to "create any deficit in campaign expenditures" and to keep the public fully advised of the sources of campaign funds.

Attention is now directed to another declaration in the Republican platform:

"There will not be any relaxing of resolute endeavor to keep our elections clean, honest and free from taint of any kind. The improper use of money in governmental and political affairs is a great national evil." \* \* \*

This provision is amusing in the light of recent history. It implies that a determined effort heretofore has been made to "keep elections clean" and to prevent the improper use of money. The implication is contradicted by the facts.

The safety of our political institutions depends on fair elections and honest government. You may never expect clean government if nominations or elections are to be bought and sold. Of course, such methods do not meet with approval by the majority of the Republican Party. Many Republicans condemn the indifference of their leaders to the ignominious record mentioned—a record which never could have been made if the watchmen on the towers had not fallen asleep.

The Democratic Party invites the co-operation of all who desire the administration of national affairs reformed in accordance with the principles set forth in its platform.

Mr. Chairman Bowers, and ladies and gentlemen of the committee, the nomination for Vice-President is accepted with sincere appreciation of the honor and the responsibilities that are associated with it.

# Minutes of a Meeting of the Democratic National Committee

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MAYFLOWER HOTEL,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
Thursday, January 12, 1928.

The committee was called to order at 11:30 o'clock a. m. by the chairman, Honorable Clem Shaver.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The committee will be in order. Secretary Greathouse will read the call for the meeting.

**THE SECRETARY** (Mr. Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana, reading) :

“Washington, D. C., October 15, 1927.

“To the Members of the Democratic National Committee:

“A meeting of the Democratic National Committee is hereby called at its offices, Room 319 Investment Building, Washington, D. C., on Thursday, the 12th day of January, 1928, at 11 o'clock a. m., to fix the time and place and make such arrangements as may be needed for the holding of the next Democratic National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States and to transact any other business that may properly come before the committee.

(Signed) “CLEM SHAVER,  
Democratic National Chairman.”

Amended call, which you also received, dated December 8, 1927:

“Washington, D. C., December 8, 1927.

“To the Members of the Democratic National Committee:

“The call for the meeting of the National Committee to be held January 12 at 10 o'clock a. m., to fix the time and place for the next national convention, which was issued October 15, 1927, is hereby amended to provide that the place of meeting shall be at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., instead of the Democratic National Committee headquarters, Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

(Signed) “CLEM SHAVER,  
Democratic National Chairman.”

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The secretary will report the changes in the committee since the last meeting.

**THE ACTING EXECUTIVE SECRETARY** (Richard T. Buchanan): The changes in the Democratic National Committee made since

the last meeting of the committee, which was held at Clarksburg, West Virginia, are as follows:

Arkansas: Miss Alice Cordell of Eldorado succeeded Mrs. James D. Head of Texarkana.

Connecticut: Thomas J. Spellacy, Hartford, succeeded Homer S. Cummings, resigned. Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott, Norwalk, succeeded Mrs. Caroline Ruutz-Rees, resigned.

Kansas: Dudley Doolittle succeeded Samuel B. Amidon, deceased.

Maryland: Howard Bruce of Baltimore succeeded John Walter Smith, deceased.

Ohio: W. A. Julian, Cincinnati, succeeded E. H. Moore, deceased.

Texas: Jed Adams of Dallas succeeded Thomas B. Love, resigned.

Wisconsin: John M. Callahan succeeded Martin L. Lueck, deceased.

Wyoming: Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair succeeded Mrs. Elsie C. Holly.

THE CHAIRMAN: Without objection, the chair appoints the committeemen and women from the states as read. The members of the committee from the states affected will later prepare resolutions of respect.

The chair will request holders of proxies to present them to the secretary now.

(Thereupon proxies were presented.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will be in order. The secretary will call the roll of the committee.

MR. BUCHANAN: Before reading the roll call I have a letter here, a proxy, that is not signed. It is an authorization to the bearer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, we will have to pass that.

MR. BUCHANAN: This is an unsigned proxy from Wyoming, reading: "I, Julia H. Sinclair, authorize the bearer to act in my place." It is not signed. It should be signed by somebody, I think, before being recorded.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not important now. We will lay that aside. Answer to your names distinctly.

(The secretary called the roll by states, and the following members of the committee answered present, or were represented by the proxies indicated:)

Alabama: Walter Moore. (Present.) Mrs. Charles J. Sharp. (Present.)

Arizona: W. L. Barnum. (Present.) Mrs. Theodora Marsh. (Present.)

Arkansas: Vincent M. Miles. (Present.) Miss Alice Cordell.  
(Present.)

California: Isidore B. Dockweiler. (Present.) Mrs. Charles  
L. Donohoe. (Present.)

Colorado: John T. Barnett. (Present.) Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee.  
(By proxy, John T. Barnett.)

Delaware: Andrew C. Gray. (Present.) Mrs. John R. Eskridge.  
(Present.)

Florida: J. T. G. Crawford. (Present.) Mrs. Lois K. Mayes  
Tanner. (Present.)

Georgia: John S. Cohen. (Present.) Mrs. Edgar Alexander.  
(Present.)

Idaho: Robert H. Elder. (By proxy, Joel L. Priest.) Mrs.  
Teresa M. Graham. (Present.)

Illinois: George H. Brennan. (Present.) Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.  
(Present.)

Indiana: Charles A. Greathouse. (Present.) Mrs. Bessie L.  
Riggs. (By proxy, A. C. Sallee.)

Iowa: Clyde L. Herring. (Present.) Mrs. Madge O'Neill.  
(By proxy, George F. Milton.)

Kansas: Dudley Doolittle. (Present.) Mrs. Florence G. Farley.  
(Present.)

Kentucky: Urey Woodson. (Present.) Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.  
(Present.)

Louisiana: Lee Emmett Thomas. (Present). Mrs. Genevieve  
Clark Thomson. (Present.)

Maine: D. J. McGillicuddy. (Present.) Mrs. William R. Pattenall.  
(Present.)

Maryland: Howard Bruce. (Present.) Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.  
(Present.)

Massachusetts: Edward W. Quinn. (Present.) Mrs. Nellie M.  
Sullivan. (Present.)

Michigan: William A. Comstock. (Present.) Mrs. Etta C.  
Boltwood. (Present.)

Minnesota: Joseph Wolf. (Present.) Miss Jessie Scott.  
(Present.)

Mississippi: Henry Minor. (Present.) Mrs. Daisy McL.  
Stevens. (Present.)

Missouri: W. T. Kemper. (By proxy, Harry B. Hawes.) Mrs.  
Emily Newell Blair. (Present.)

Montana: J. Bruce Kremer. (Present.) Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.  
(Present.)

Nebraska: Arthur F. Mullen. (Present.) Dr. Jennie Callfas.  
(Present.)

- Nevada: Samuel M. Pickett. (By proxy, Justus Wardell.)  
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff. (By proxy, Key Pittman.)
- New Hampshire: Robert C. Murchie. (By proxy, Robert Jackson.) Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson. (Present.)
- New Jersey: Frank Hague. (Present.) Mrs. James J. Billington. (Present.)
- New Mexico: Arthur Seligman. (By proxy, Sam G. Bratton.)  
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby. (By proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones.)
- New York: Norman E. Mack. (Present.) Miss Elizabeth Marbury. (Present.)
- North Carolina: F. M. Simmons. (By proxy, Frank A. Hampton.) Miss Mary O. Graham. (By proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman.)
- North Dakota: R. B. Murphy. (Present.) Mrs. Esther S. Johnson. (Present.)
- Ohio: W. A. Julian. (Present.) Mrs. Bernice Pyke. (Present.)
- Oklahoma: Scott Ferris. (Present.) Mrs. D. A. McDougal. (Present.)
- Oregon: Will R. King. (Present.) Mrs. Irene E. Stuart. (By proxy, Mrs. E. P. King.)
- Pennsylvania: Joseph F. Guffey. (Present.) Mrs. Lillian D. Bergey. (Present.)
- Rhode Island: Patrick H. Quinn. (Present.) Mrs. Jane A. Newton. (Present.)
- South Carolina: John Gary Evans. (Present.) Mrs. Leroy Springs. (Present.)
- South Dakota: W. W. Howes. (Present.) Mrs. H. C. Snodgrass. (Absent.)
- Tennessee: Cordell Hull. (Present.) Mrs. Benton McMillin. (By proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass.)
- Texas: Jed Adams. (Present.) Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth. (By proxy, Thomas B. Love.)
- Utah: James H. Moyle. (Present.) Mrs. Weston Vernon. (Present.)
- Vermont: Frank H. Duffy. (Present.) Miss Alice D. Sullivan. (Absent.)
- Virginia: Carter Glass. (Present.) Mrs. Beverly B. Munford. (By proxy, Carter Glass.)
- Washington: George F. Christensen. (Present.) Mrs. E. D. Christian. (By proxy, James J. Hoey.)
- West Virginia: C. W. Osenton. (Present.) Mrs. Frank Mann. (Present.)
- Wisconsin: John M. Callahan. (Present.) Mrs. Gertrude Bowler. (Present.)
- Wyoming: Patrick J. Quearly. (Present.) Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair. (By proxy, Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross.)

Alaska: T. J. Donohoe. (By proxy, Thomas Riggs.) Mrs. John W. Troy. (By proxy, George Brennan.)

District of Columbia: John F. Costello. (Present.) Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. (Present.)

Hawaii: John H. Wilson. (Absent.) Mrs. L. L. McCandless. (By proxy, J. B. Harriman.)

Philippine Islands: Robert E. Manly. (By proxy, Edward N. Hurley.) Grace E. Westerhouse. (By proxy, Daniel C. Roper.)

Porto Rico: Henry W. Dooley. (By proxy, Thomas W. Lawler.) Mrs. Isabel Lock Horton. (By proxy, Mrs. J. S. Whittemore.)

Canal Zone: Frank T. Hamlin. (Present.) Mrs. L. O. Keen. (By proxy, Mrs. John Blair.)

THE CHAIRMAN: A quorum of the committee is present.

MR. HULL (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, I move that the chair be authorized to appoint a committee on resolutions to consist of seven members, a part of the function of which shall be to consider any resolutions that may be introduced before the full committee.

MR. JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): I will second that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the house, which has been seconded, for the appointment of a committee to consist of seven gentlemen and ladies of the committee.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

MR. SCOTT FERRIS (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman, I understand that there are a number of formal reports from several standing committees that will require quite a lot of time of the committee and probably without any results, and I move you, sir, that those reports, several in number, be printed in the record rather than read along at this time, if I may have a second.

MRS. GERTRUDE BOWLER (of Wisconsin): I second the motion.

SCOTT FERRIS (of Oklahoma): They will be available, of course, to the members of the committee at any time they desire to consult them.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Oklahoma makes a motion that the reports be printed and sent to the members of the committee. Is there a second?

MRS. GERTRUDE BOWLER (of Wisconsin): I seconded the motion.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

THE CHAIRMAN: On the committee on resolutions I will name Mr. Hull of Tennessee, Mr. Frank Hague of New Jersey, Mr. Urey Woodson of Kentucky, Mrs. LeRoy Springs of South Carolina, Mrs. Florence G. Farley of Kansas, Mr. Arthur F. Mullen of Nebraska, and Mrs. D. B. Jackson of New Hampshire.

In order to facilitate the business of the National Committee, the chair yesterday took the liberty to ask three members of the

committee, in connection with our financial chairman, to look into the applications for the privilege of entertaining the next Democratic National Convention. Several cities have asked for the convention.

Mr. Barnett was chairman of that committee. I named Mr. Barnett, Mr. Mack and Mr. Kremer, gentlemen of experience, to look into and report what they find about the cities and suggest to us the necessary action.

Mr. Barnett is recognized.

JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): Mr. Chairman, Mr. Moyle has some data that we got together, the members of the committee. This committee of three appointed by the chairman met yesterday and this morning to receive the invitations of the various cities that desired the convention and we have been going over with those gentlemen who represented those various cities the matters that they desired to present.

We have made a memorandum of each one and the proposition that they have made.

The first invitation that we received was from the city of Detroit, represented by the national committeeman, Mr. Comstock, and others, and, briefly, their proposition was as follows: They presented us with a certified check for \$125,000 and offered their hall, which has a seating capacity of 17,000, and the side halls in that large building for the use of the various sub-committees and arrangements committee for the convention. The committee is to take charge of the fitting up of the hall in such manner as it might desire or thought was necessary for the purposes of the convention.

The next city to appear before us, through its representatives, was Miami, Florida. They made a proposition to give the committee \$100,000 for the use of the committee in the conduct and handling of the affairs of the convention, and they offered a hall they say has a seating capacity of 15,000, which will be equipped at the expense of the local committee.

They offer also, I may say this, pretty generally reduced hotel rates, and they will have very satisfactory railroad rates to that point.

The next was Chicago, which offers to the committee its invitation; they will provide \$130,000 for the expenses of the convention there.

The next city was Houston, Texas, which was represented by Mr. Jones. That city has offered to the committee for the purposes of the convention \$200,000. They have a hall with a seating capacity of 6,500. They also have necessary side halls for the committee rooms. They have a large hotel there of a thousand

rooms within one block of the hall. This convention hall has some fifty boxes and has entertained the bankers' convention and others running up to 4,500 people, and they invite us there with all of the facilities for holding the convention.

San Francisco has invited—

ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Dockweiler.

ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Barnett, may I interrupt for just a minute? What is the seating capacity of the hall at Houston? I did not catch that.

JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): Sixty-five hundred.

ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Sixty-five hundred?

JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): Yes. San Francisco has made an offer to the convention of \$250,000. (Applause.) They also provide free of charge the convention hall. Most of you know what that is. It is a splendid hall. We were there in 1920. They also have additional rooms for the committee, the committee on arrangements, and the other committees that will function during the convention.

The expenses of taking care of this hall and putting it in shape will be borne by the National Committee out of this \$250,000.

Now, briefly, those were the propositions for the convention submitted to the committee and we went over them so as to have no misunderstandings about them, and I may say that such concessions as go with the convention are retained in all these matters by the National Committee.

A COMMITTEEMAN: Which committee?

JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): The National Committee and the committee on arrangements.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it was suggested and agreed to by those representing the various cities that a short time should be given to the representatives of each to present their matters to this committee, and it was agreed that fifteen minutes for each city would be ample time to present to the committee such matters as they desire to bring before the committee.

Therefore, I move you, Mr. Chairman, that these cities each be granted fifteen minutes to present in their own way these invitations.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that each city be given fifteen minutes to present its claims.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will be in order.

JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): Just a moment, Mr. Chair-

man. Mr. Chairman, I am just in receipt of a telegram through Mrs. Pyke, national committeewoman of Ohio, of an offer from Cleveland. The committee this morning had no proposition from Cleveland, but since that time Mrs. Pyke tells me she has received the following telegram, and this telegram is addressed to Burr Gongwer, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

"Convention board of Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has arranged a committee, representative of the banking, newspaper, merchandising and manufacturing interests of Cleveland, that will raise a sum of money not in excess of \$150,000, available to the Democrats if their coming convention is allotted to Cleveland."

That is signed by Paul Wilson, president.

Then an additional telegram from City Manager Hopkins, as follows:

"Cleveland, Ohio.

"W. B. Gongwer,  
"Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

"Cleveland will give hall free for Democratic convention. Good luck to you. (Signed) "W. R. HOPKINS."

WILL R. KING (of Oregon): I would like to ask whether that said not in excess of or not less than?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not in excess of.

SCOTT FERRIS (of Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman, I move that notwithstanding this bid came in later, Cleveland be accorded the same time as the others—fifteen minutes.

JOSEPH F. GUFFEY (of Pennsylvania): I second the motion.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is moved by the gentleman from Oklahoma and seconded by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that Cleveland be accorded the same time as the other cities, fifteen minutes.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Just a moment, before you start your speaking program; in order that the committee on resolutions may be at work, any resolutions that anyone has should be handed in now so that they may be given to the committee promptly before we start the presentation of the claims of these cities to the committee.

Which city shall we hear first? Does the chairman of the committee have the order of those desiring to speak?

SCOTT FERRIS (of Oklahoma): I think that we might take them up in the same order that we had them there.

A COMMITTEEMAN: Or alphabetical order

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The committee will be in order. All resolutions will be passed to the chairman of the committee on resolutions. Mr. Hull of Tennessee.

DUDLEY DOOLITTLE (of Kansas): Mr. Chairman, in regard to the resolutions of respect: Did I understand the chairman to say that the successors of the former members of this committee who have died should bring in the resolutions of respect?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DUDLEY DOOLITTLE (of Kansas): Whom do you want us to give those resolutions to?

THE CHAIRMAN: The man and the woman from the state, the two members, will bring in resolutions of respect to the deceased members.

MR. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE (of Kansas): You want them to go to the committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: They will go to this committee on resolutions also, under the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Detroit ready to present her case?

MR. WILLIAM A. COMSTOCK (of Michigan): Mr. Chairman. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Comstock, a member of the committee, from Michigan. William A. Comstock.

MR. WILLIAM A. COMSTOCK (of Michigan): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: I am going to be as brief as possible and present the business aspects of the case of Detroit in as complete and concise a manner as I can.

I have here a series of letters. The first I shall read to you is from the mayor of the city of Detroit:

“CITY OF DETROIT  
“EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
“John C. Lodge, Mayor

“January 10, 1928.

“Honorable Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,

“Democratic National Committee,

“Washington, D. C.

“Dear Sir:

“As mayor of the city of Detroit, it becomes my great pleasure to extend to the Democratic National Committee, through you, a most cordial and urgent invitation to hold the next Democratic National Convention in Detroit, Michigan.

“Detroit is particularly well adapted for the purposes of your convention, with ample hotel facilities, an auditorium seating seventeen thousand persons and an air of hospitality that will be appreciated by your delegates and visitors.

“Detroit is under non-partisan government and I feel sure that all citizens, regardless of party affiliations, will welcome the dele-

gates and visitors and do everything in their power to entertain the convention properly.

"Looking forward to your acceptance of this invitation, I am,  
"Very truly yours,  
(Signed) "JOHN C. LODGE, Mayor."

These letters are addressed to Mr. Shaver, chairman of the National Committee.

This one is from the governor of the state of Michigan:

"STATE OF MICHIGAN  
"EXECUTIVE OFFICE  
"LANSING  
"Fred W. Green, Governor

"January 10, 1928.

"Hon. Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Chairman Shaver:

"Permit me to assure you and the Democratic National Committee that the invitation to hold your national convention in Detroit reflects the sentiment of all the people of Michigan. We want, more than I can express to you in this letter, the honor of having your deliberations in Michigan. We want you to know the worth of Michigan's hospitality.

"We are proud of Detroit and we feel that your delegates will be made happy in the prospect of seeing this wonder city. Whatever time you may have from your duties can be most profitably spent among the natural beauties and in the industrial wonders that will be all about you.

"In addition to the unusually ample hotel accommodations and a modern auditorium, I want to promise you that every facility of the state government will be at the command of the officials of your convention. We want you, and we believe your acceptance of Michigan's invitation would be mutually advantageous.

"Respectfully yours,  
(Signed) "FRED W. GREEN."

A letter from Honorable Woodbridge N. Ferris, Democratic senator from the state of Michigan:

"UNITED STATES SENATE  
"Committee on Education and Labor  
"242 Senate Office Building  
"Washington, D. C.

"January 11, 1928.

"Honorable Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Mr. Shaver:

"Some months ago I made an engagement to speak in Toledo, Ohio, on Thursday evening of January 12. Filling this engagement makes it impossible for me to be present at the committee meeting; likewise, it makes it impossible for me to attend the dinner. I am exceedingly sorry about this. I have fought and bled, so to speak, for Democracy in Michigan since 1892. I am not the only Michigan Democrat who has done this.

"William A. Comstock has made larger sacrifices in time and money than any other Democrat in the state of Michigan. Months ago I suggested that every possible effort be made in order that the next Democratic National Convention be brought to Detroit. Detroit is a great city in a great state and at present has facilities equal to, if not superior to, many other cities for entertaining a great convention. I am hoping that after careful consideration Detroit will be selected to entertain the next Democratic National Convention. This would be a great tribute to the loyal Democrats of Michigan. Because Michigan is normally overwhelmingly Republican, it is thought by many that nothing would be gained by bringing the convention to Michigan. That position is not entirely correct. I can not think of one limitation or drawback. It seems to me that the location of the city of Detroit, the magnificent facilities of Detroit, and other inducements, all are in favor of bringing the convention to Detroit. I sincerely hope that this can be done.

"With best wishes, I am

"Very cordially yours,

(Signed) "WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS."

A letter from the Detroit Hotel Association:

"DETROIT HOTEL ASSOCIATION  
"DETROIT, MICHIGAN

"January 9, 1928.

"Hon. Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"Dear Mr. Shaver:

"In extending an invitation to the Democratic National Convention, the members of the Detroit Hotel Association by unanimous action agree to maintain their regular established rates, and

not to increase said rates during the period of the Democratic National Convention in this city.

"The hotels of Detroit also agree to set aside sufficient rooms to take care of the delegates and alternates in attendance, in the same manner as has been provided for the Triennial Conclave, Knights Templar, which meets in Detroit in July, and for which, at the present time, more than 20,000 reservations have been made.

"Yours very truly,  
(Signed) "W. J. CHITTENDEN, President."

From the Detroit Board of Commerce:

"DETROIT BOARD OF COMMERCE  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

"January 10, 1928.

"Honorable Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir:

"The directors of this organization, representing about 6,000 of Detroit's leading business men, have instructed me to communicate with you in their behalf, urging that you give Detroit's invitation favorable consideration.

"Your delegation may be assured of a warm welcome to Detroit. Our city is well able to take care of the comfortable housing of whatever number will be in attendance. Olympia, our great convention hall, is of such size that it will accommodate a larger crowd than any political convention has boasted in the past.

"We are happy to add our word to that of the other forward-looking groups in Detroit.

"We will be extremely proud to learn of your acceptance.

"Sincerely yours,  
(Signed) "HARVEY CAMPBELL,  
"Vice-President-Secretary."

From the Greater Detroit Committee, Inc.:

"GREATER DETROIT COMMITTEE, INC.  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

"January 10, 1928.

"Hon. Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Mr. Shaver:

"Detroit occupies a unique place in the nation's eyes. Its position in the industrial world, coupled with its beauty and energy, attracts every citizen in the country.

"The unusual interest in the Democratic National Convention this year, plus the peculiar news value in the city of Detroit, will give to your party the outstanding opportunity for publicity. We believe this condition should be carefully considered and appraised in settling upon your next convention city.

"The Greater Detroit Committee looks forward to the opportunity of assisting in looking after the comforts and success of your notable convention, if held in Detroit in 1928.

"Very truly yours,

(Signed) "FRED WARDELL, President."

A letter from the manager of Olympia:

"OLYMPIA  
"DETROIT

"January 9, 1928.

"Mr. W. A. Comstock,  
"Chairman Citizens' Committee,  
"Stroh Building,  
"Detroit, Michigan.  
"Dear Sir:

"We are pleased to offer the Citizens' Committee the use of the Olympia Arena for the Democratic Convention during the month of June under the same arrangements made with the Republican committee.

"Very truly yours,

(Signed) "RICHARD G. DUNN, General Manager."

And then this letter:

"Washington, D. C., January 12, 1928.

"Hon. Clem L. Shaver, Chairman,  
"Democratic National Committee,  
"Washington, D. C.

"My Dear Mr. Shaver:

"On behalf of the Citizens' Committee of the city of Detroit, of which I am the chairman, and in my own behalf as national committeeman from Michigan, I have the honor to extend the Democratic National Committee an invitation to hold the national convention of the party in June, 1928, in the city of Detroit, Michigan.

"As a guarantee of good faith, I transmit herewith a cashier's check in the sum of \$125,000, which sum is to be used toward defraying the expenses of the convention. In addition to this sum, I hereby guarantee that the convention hall will be furnished to

the committee rent free. It should be understood, however, that whatever small expense may be necessary to rearrange the hall for convention purposes is to be considered a part of the expense and not of the rent.

"Hoping that the other letters and guarantees presented to you separately may be found in order, and hoping that Detroit may have the honor of entertaining the next convention, I am

"Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) "WILLIAM A. COMSTOCK."

And a check for \$125,000 is presented to be used if the convention comes to Detroit (presenting check for \$125,000).

Now, my friends, members of the committee, there are one or two other things that I want to say before I stop, from this business angle. There has been some discussion about putting the hall in order for the convention. Our hall, Olympia, does not need to be put in order. It is all ready for you to step into it. It is absolutely new. It was opened in November of last year. Next to Madison Square Garden in New York it is the largest and most fully equipped convention hall in the country. It seats 17,000 people. It has committee rooms all around the front and side. They are ready for committee use at any time between now and the end of the convention.

In addition to that, about a block away is Northwestern High School, which, of course, will not be in use June 26, when we meet. If perchance the committee room facilities of the hall should not be ample we could use the facilities of the Northwestern High School, which is the largest in the state of Michigan, so that this committee, when they speak of equipping a hall, must bear in mind that there will be a nominal expense only in equipping Olympia for this convention unless they want to rearrange the whole thing. They can spend \$80,000 if they want to rebuild the hall, but it will not be necessary, in my opinion.

Now there is not a hall in the country that can be put in order for the convention as cheaply as our hall, Olympia, in Detroit. It is ready now, with the exception of decorating. Perhaps you will have to enlarge the platform, but those are details and they do not cost much, if properly handled.

Now, of course, as to the concessions, it is understood that they go with this bid.

I want to call your attention to the fact that concessions in a city like Detroit and concessions in a hall the size of our hall in Detroit, which will be filled for your convention at every session, are worth from three to five times as much as they might be in a smaller city and in a smaller hall, and the proceeds of these con-

cessions go to the committee. If properly handled, our bid of \$125,000 cash is equivalent to a bid of at least \$300,000 from any other city.

Now, I do not have to say to you that Detroit is centrally located. (Applause.) You know that it is in the great Middle West. It is accessible to every delegate to the convention. It is more accessible to the majority of the delegates than most cities. You know its accessibility, so I do not have to argue that.

Now, my friends, there is logic about placing a convention. You all know that, and the logic of this situation today, it seems to me, demands that this convention be placed in the Middle West. (Applause.) I may say that I do not mean any derogation to any other city that has bid here, but the logic of the political situation today, to my mind, demands a Middle West city.

If you see fit to accept our invitation we shall do our level best to entertain you and entertain you properly. I know that the Detroit citizens are back of this movement, regardless of party affiliations and I know that this convention will not regret coming.

Now I am going to call, just for a few minutes, on Mr. Alfred Lucking, who is one of our prominent Detroit and Michigan citizens. He needs no introduction to a Democratic audience. Mr. Lucking was the man who, more than any other, exposed, or was at the bottom of the exposure of, the Newberry scandal which resulted in Michigan, which is normally a tremendously Republican state, having a Democratic senator in the Senate. (Applause.)

I want Mr. Lucking to talk to you for a short time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

The committee on resolutions will meet in Room A of the mezzanine floor immediately. Mr. Woodson, Mrs. Springs, Mrs. Farley, Mr. Mullen and Mrs. Jackson will meet with Mr. Hull.

Mr. Lucking.

MR. LUCKING (of Michigan): Mr. Chairman, how much time have I left? There is another man to follow me. I want to end in five minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have had fifteen minutes.

MR. COMSTOCK: May we have a little bit more time?

THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead.

MR. LUCKING: Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lucking of Michigan. (Applause.)

MR. LUCKING: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: I sat back a little way during the preceding talk and there was so much noise around it was very difficult to hear, so I suggest to the chairman that it might be well, at least for the benefit of the other speakers, to maintain order, because— (ap-

pause). You will pardon me, Mr. Chairman, for that. There were several of us who could not hear back there.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I do not know but that everything has been said in substance that can be said for the city of Detroit. The time is very limited and I am going to cut out a large part of what I had in my notes to say to you.

I can hardly say anything which in substance has not already been mentioned.

Detroit was an old city when many of these other cities were founded. Detroit is 220-odd years old, and it has never had a national convention of one of our parties, great parties. It is 125 years since Jefferson founded the Democratic Party which you represent here today and of which we are all so proud, and yet Detroit has voted all those years and for many, many elections for the Democratic Party and has never had the honor and the pleasure or the privilege of entertaining a convention.

This is not said in derogation of any other city. I want to emphasize, though, that while Michigan is in the Middle West, or West, it is one of the oldest states, compared with those west of it and her institutions have been followed, her educational institutions and so on have been followed and copied, and her laws, almost verbatim by a long list of states to the west, to their advantage, and all those institutions, all those laws, were inaugurated and put in force by the great Democratic fathers of that state, like Lewis Cass, who was the candidate of his party for President in 1848. Unfortunately he was defeated by a division in the party. As you know, all those institutions were founded by the Democratic Party and we are mighty proud of the institutions of that great state of Michigan, which was the first state in the world to inaugurate a free system of education, from the primary school to the university, and it has been copied by all the states to the west.

I am saying this to you because years ago I remember in a Republican convention they sneered at the request of Michigan to have the convention, or its request for a candidate, I have forgotten which, by saying, "Oh, anybody can carry Michigan."

Now, I do not want you to have that idea here today in passing on this question, in holding Detroit's request for the convention lightly, because we have today a Democratic United States senator in the Senate of the United States, and I want to say to you that we want to re-elect him and he is coming up for election this fall. He is a magnificent man and he is worthy of re-election and, of course, we have a tremendous battle to return him here. And that is the reason we want this convention.

Unfortunately it has become fashionable in Michigan to be a

Republican and so we find our young men, sires of grand old Democratic fathers, slipping into the Republican Party. Now help us bring them back. We want to get back on the map. We want them to see this convention.

I have seen Democratic conventions—and a Democratic convention will add prestige to our party in the state of Michigan and will help put us back on the map.

Now another thing. You are all very fond, I know the members of this committee are, of our representative on your committee who has just spoken, Mr. Comstock. We are going to draft him to run for governor in the state of Michigan this fall. (Applause.) We want your help in the election by giving us this convention, and I want to say to you if we elect him you will hear from him further, if we elect him governor, and four years and eight years from now you will hear from Comstock, and there is not a finer organizer, or finer man or finer citizen, I am sure, anywhere.

Now Detroit is thoroughly equipped. I do not need to tell you that, ladies and gentlemen. We have got this new Olympia, as grand a building as there is in the world, up to the last minute in its appointment, seating 17,000 people, I think 5,000 more than Madison Square Garden four years ago, and there is not a thing for the accommodation or comfort of this convention that won't be there, and for those who can not crowd into the convention, who are visiting the city, we have all manner of attractions, and just in a word I want to say this to you: I have been to conventions when I have suffered terribly from the heat, and so on. Now we are beautifully located in respect to that. We will give you thoroughly comfortable sessions, and if, by chance, there should come one very hot day, we will bring out one of our great liners on the inland seas of this nation and we will take you out on one of those great seas. (Applause.)

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM A. COMSTOCK (of Michigan): Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have one other man from Detroit, and I know you are going to like to hear from him. He is a former newspaper man of Michigan, newspaper owner. He owned the Detroit Times until William Randolph Hearst came and took it off of his hands. I want to call Mr. James Skimmerhorn for two or three minutes.

MR. SKIMMERHORN (of Detroit, Michigan): Ladies and Gentlemen: The most desirable feature of this speech is that it is going to be a 1928 model, consisting of three parts: Stand up, speak up, shut up.

We want you to come to Detroit to partake of real hospitality. Real hospitality should be like the 1928 model. It should not have

a metallic sound. No proper invitation should have a Bradstreet condition attached to it, and at this time we are offering to you a certain, simple invitation with the proper assurance that the guests will not have to pay their own expenses. We do not want competition here, I think, like that gray-haired colored man who for fifteen dollars per annum was willing to support the Republican Party and for eight dollars would vote the Democratic ticket, who took the fifteen dollars and then was taken to task by his Republican friend for voting the Democratic ticket.

His friend says, "I understood that you voted the Democratic ticket. Why did you do that?" And he says, "Why, because the Democrats were less corrupt." (Laughter and applause.)

We want you to know the great hospitality of Detroit and the assurance of comfort and all that, and we do not want to enter into a competition that will savor of the conversation between the slave in the old South and his old master who met him on the street one day and says, "Rastus, you understand, I am running for mayor." He says, "I had an intimation of it but I have not been financially informed yet."

Now, just one word from the Scripture. It is entirely proper to have a biblical sentiment in this aggregation of a Democratic gathering. I know that most of you are men and women of thought. You are not like the man who thought that the epistles were the sisters of the apostles.

Democrats so strongly stand for the policy of truth and integrity of government that they will never fall into the error of the two women who were discussing the Scripture over the backyard fence and one of them said that she thought that Sodom and Gomorrah were man and wife; and the other one replied that she thought they ought to be if they were not. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, it is written in the Scripture that a certain man gave a feast and invited the princes and the elect and they came not—that is the Republican Party. They were given an invitation to come to Detroit. Then when those in high station refused to come you remember the words, "Go out and bring in the common people."

So Detroit is again here asking the commoners to come and partake of its hospitality.

Now, friends, just one word more: Our good women, the Democratic women, the high priestesses of progressive Democracy, are in favor of changing the Democratic symbol. The donkey—that little beast of burden—they want to find something that is more elegant. There was once a famous woman who lived here. She saw one, looked at him for a long time, and finally said: "Ain't he plain?" (Laughter and applause.)

So let me suggest that you simply come out to Detroit, founded by Cadillac, perfected by Packard, and backed by Ford, and instead of this symbol of Democracy, may we take the 1928 model and let it carry us to victory with its fine symbol. We made enough models to represent the electoral vote and furthermore they are already carrying the country. They are carrying the country so thoroughly that the home is now described as a place where the family stays while the car is being fixed. As the young lady who was dealing with the subject of birth control said: This is a progressive age; where one is born in a hospital, educated in a convent, courted in an automobile, married in a hotel, widowed in a divorce court and buried from a mortuary chapel.

So we give you this symbol of progress for all Democracy. Come to Detroit with the assurance that it is a place from which you can start on the way to permanent achievement. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope that the representatives in presenting the invitations of their cities will keep within the limit of time prescribed by the committee.

We will next hear from Miami.

MR. J. T. G. CRAWFORD (of Florida): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mr. Crawford, a member of the National Committee from Florida.

MR. J. T. G. CRAWFORD (of Florida): Mr. Chairman, however entertaining these speeches might be, I know that the members of this committee would like to boil this proposition down.

A COMMITTEEMAN: Louder.

MR. J. T. G. CRAWFORD (of Florida): So I will simply read the offer made by the mayor of Miami on behalf of the city and add one or two words to what that city has to offer and leave it with you. The invitation of Miami is expressed in the following telegram which was sent to the chairman:

"Miami asks of you the honor of acting as host to the next Democratic National Convention and is ready to back her invitation with a certified check for \$100,000. Miami has hotel accommodations for 100,000 visitors." (We are not to be worried with hotels. I will add here that the maximum rates have been agreed to as eight dollars and a minimum, of which there will be a plentiful supply, as low as one dollar.)

"We will furnish you an adequate amphitheatre with a seating capacity for 15,000 people or more, with committee rooms and all needed facilities. We have as fine railroad service as there is in America over one double-track railroad and one single track railway and also have most excellent steamship service from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The finest and fastest coast-wise ships in the world make the trip from New York in forty-

eight hours." (The telegraph companies have ample service for handling the business of the convention. In fact Miami's telegraph business has ranked in volume among the largest cities in the United States.)

"Miami, having mastered the art of entertaining America's famous folks every winter, assures you of the greatest hospitality any political convention has ever had."

Now, members of the committee, I can only add one or two words. Everybody who has not been down in Florida in the summertime has an idea that we are all dying with the heat. The truth is that there is not a case on record of heat prostration in the state of Florida. The gulf stream runs very close to the shore at Miami. The climate at Miami in June is a whole lot more comfortable than I have seen in some of our convention cities further north. The weather bureau records will show that Miami in June and July is several degrees cooler than cities as far north as New York. So I want to say that and emphasize it. There has already been reference to the heat.

Florida, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, is a Democratic state. We have not brought a lot of literature here from our state officials, but they all want you. There has never been a meeting of this kind in the far South, and I am sure that this committee will make no mistake in trying it out.

We vote Democratic every time. We never miss and we vote Democratic regardless of who is nominated. (Applause.) And while it may be proper to go out to Detroit or to some other city and help the party along, I submit to you that it is also proper to encourage your Democratic brethren a little bit away down South and come down there and see us where we are all Democrats. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Anyone else?

MR. J. T. G. CRAWFORD (of Florida): No one else here in behalf of Miami, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next in order is Chicago.

MR. GEORGE E. BRENNAN (of Illinois): Mr. Chairman, Chicago's invitation and claims for consideration at the hands of this body will be presented by Colonel Buckingham of the Association of Commerce of our city and by Honorable Edward N. Hurley of Chicago.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman will please come forward.

COLONEL BUCKINGHAM (of Chicago): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honor to stand here as the representative of the Citizens' Convention Committee of Chicago, of the Association of Commerce of Chicago, and of the mayor and city authorities of Chicago.

I will not take the time to enlarge upon the many merits of that great and glorious city, nor yet upon the many reasons why this convention should be held there. If I did we would be talking here tomorrow morning.

The city of Chicago is central to the United States. There is less discomfort, less travel, less expense, in the aggregate, to the delegates and visitors to your projected convention in coming to Chicago than any other spot on the map, and when you get there the facilities for holding a convention are unequaled in this land.

There is the convention hall, which, while it has not the merit of being brand new as that described here, yet has the great merit of having been tried and tested by conventions of all kinds and descriptions in the past and has the other merit that many Presidents have been nominated in it and therefore would be a proper place for your deliberations. It has a seating capacity of 15,000 and an annex with a capacity of 4,800, and committee rooms that are absolutely adequate for all purposes of any convention.

In addition to that, there has been developed in connection and by reason of the many conventions held there what we believe is the best organization of any city for the carrying on of great affairs like this. There have been more conventions of magnitude held there than any place on the map and the arrangements that have been perfected there are entirely adequate.

The Citizens' Committee undertakes to bear the necessary expense of this transaction in its entirety and for such purposes the sum of \$130,000 has been pledged.

The hotel facilities of Chicago are unequaled. The hotel association has written a letter to the committee which I represent, in which it promises not to make any change whatever in their normal rates during the term of the convention, and it places at the disposal of those who would visit the city at that time 25,000 hotel rooms in the Loop and 17,500 easily accessible from the Loop.

In getting to and from the place of meeting the street car system of Chicago is entirely adequate and there is the best and cheapest taxicab service there is in the world except, perhaps, the city of Paris.

All of these things are at your disposal, and the people of Chicago, regardless of politics, race or creed, cordially invite this distinguished representation and the distinguished representatives of one of our great major political parties to accept the hospitality of the people of Chicago.

I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hurley.

MR. EDWARD N. HURLEY (of Illinois): Ladies and Gentlemen, I just wish to add that in addition to what Colonel Buckingham

has stated, the greatest transportation facilities can be offered to the delegates of this convention through the railroads. The facilities for getting to Chicago, as you know, are very comfortable and very easy from all sections of the country. Please bear that in mind when you are voting—about the time it will take to come to Chicago, and the comfortable hotels and the weather during that period. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Houston, Texas. Who speaks for Houston? Mr. Adams, who is a member of the National Committee from the great state of Texas.

MR. JED ADAMS (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: I want to present to you, not for Houston, but for the citizens of Texas, irrespective of their political affiliations—and of course you did not know there was but one affiliation in Texas—one of Texas' most distinguished citizens, one of the nation's most distinguished Democrats, and who for all the years of his life, especially during the last four years, as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic Party in this nation, has given as loyal, unstinted and unselfish service to his party as any man ever gave. A citizen of Texas of whom Texas is proud.

I want to present to you first Jesse H. Jones, whom you all know, and of whom I spoke. After that, Daniel E. Garrett, a citizen of Houston and a representative from that district in Congress, will address you. And then the Honorable John Boyle of San Antonio. Then we hope before this fifteen minutes has expired to present to you the heroic, fearless young governor of the greatest state, in some respects at least, in this Union, who will present the claims, not only of Houston, but of Texas, and invite you to be our guests. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jones.

MR. JESSE H. JONES (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Democratic National Committee: I will read a few lines from our invitation, officially extended to the committee this morning in executive session.

"On behalf of the mayor and city council and all the civic bodies and of all the people of Houston and indeed of all the people of Texas, I respectfully extend a most cordial invitation to the Democratic National Committee to hold its 1928 convention in Houston."

We have ample hotel facilities for delegates and others who may wish to attend. We have a municipal auditorium with a seating capacity, telling the entire truth, of 6,500 to 7,500, with ample committee rooms to serve your convention.

The Rice Hotel, Houston's welcome to the world, is situated

within a city block of the auditorium and built especially for entertaining large conventions, with a thousand sleeping rooms and an entire city block of furnished rooms on the second floor, with seating capacities ranging from fifty to eight hundred to the room. These will all be made available to the visitors and to the convention.

A roof garden, eighteen stories up, with 1,500 seating capacity, where you will eat most of your meals.

Our climate in June is very comfortable. The temperature ranges in the eighties and lower nineties, which, with continued gulf breezes, is not at all uncomfortable. The nights are cool, requiring light cover for comfortable sleeping.

Our hotels are new and modern and all within a half a dozen city blocks of the auditorium.

We have any number of golf courses within ten minutes of the hotels for those who may be interested in that phase of the invitation. We have the best fishing grounds in the world—at least in Texas.

Only last October we entertained the American bankers' convention, which had 45,000 visitors, men and women, and we cheerfully refer you to any who attended, and there is hardly a hamlet in America that was not represented at that convention.

Our entire citizenship will constitute itself into a reception committee to meet the trains and extend every courtesy and hospitality known to the South. Private homes will be opened to the visitors and private automobiles available at all times.

If a larger meeting place than our municipal auditorium is thought necessary by the committee on arrangements, we will construct a temporary building according to your own plans and designs within four city blocks of the center of the city of Houston for your use.

Houston is a place where eighteen railroads meet eighty-six steamship lines which go to all parts of the world. Houston is the greatest city in America for its size and best place to live in and best place to visit.

Houston's hospitality will be a blank check. You can fill it in yourself for what you want. (Applause.)

There will be no overcharge in the hotels. I represent them. I have carte blanche to make that representation and the assurance that our citizens will back me up. If the concessions are worth \$300,000 at Detroit, they will be worth \$400,000 at Houston. (Applause.)

May I present to you now the Honorable Daniel Garrett, congressman from Texas, the Houston district, who will say something to you.

**THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Garrett.**

MR. GARRETT (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Democratic Executive Committee: From what you have already heard there is no use for me to discuss before you the availability of Houston for convention purposes. What I want to talk to you a few minutes about is that if there ever was a time in the history of the Democratic Party when it ought to go back and have a convention around the hearth-stones of its founders, that time is now. (Applause.)

Eighty years and more have elapsed and not a Democratic convention in a southern state. The closest that you have ever come to us was at Baltimore, Maryland, and St. Louis, Missouri. For eighty years we have voted the ticket straight. For eighty years we have helped you write Democratic platforms and for eighty years every time you have had an election in which we carried the country we came up solid with our vote and you people have gotten to think, this condition has got you people to thinking that the South has got nothing to do but vote the Democratic ticket. In other words, you have flattered us for eighty years that the Democratic nominee must come from somewhere else, the convention must go somewhere else, because "you are going to support him anyway." In other words, you have flattered us, proclaiming that we are better Democrats than they are in other parts of the country and, therefore, we have to go to other parts of the country for expediency's sake.

We are getting a little bit weary of this expediency stuff. We want you to come down with the convention into the old South and let us show you what there is down there, those of us who belong to the men who helped write the history of this country before the Civil War.

There was a time when the old South, proud of her statesmen, proud of her statecraft, gave you Presidents of these United States that made history.

There sits my friend, Carter Glass, from the old state of Virginia. When brains and not expediency controlled the nominations of the Democratic Party for President, Virginia furnished four; and my friend, Cordell Hull, who is absent—his old state furnished three. We gave you Jefferson, Washington, Jackson and all of the others worth while, and finally New Jersey took Woodrow Wilson away from us, but we gave him to you just the same. (Applause.) And in all of the history of that party, the party that wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, in all of its history there never was a national scandal or a national thief in the party. (Applause.)

Now, we want you people to think about this: We don't put

ourselves on the auction block. We are opposed to it. We offer you \$200,000 for expenses of this convention to come to Houston and we think you ought to accept it, because you ought to go down South and see us people every once in a while and understand us just a little better. (Applause.)

My good friends, the time is ripe in this country and the great masses of the people are looking to the old Democratic Party, the party that they have ever looked to in the hours of stress and trouble for an honest administration and an administration worth while. They are looking now and wondering what we are going to do. They are tired of what they have. They are weary. They are looking again for men to come to the front with clean hands and open consciences and serious minds to lead them along the paths of righteousness and virtue for the name sake of the Democracy of this country. (Applause.)

And we want this convention to come to Houston. We want you to come to Houston because we want you to come South and we want to demonstrate to the Democracy of this country that you are not afraid to do what, in your own hearts, you know now you want to do. That is what we need in this country. Come down there and let us receive you with open arms. Bring down your good-looking women and your handsome men. We are more concerned about the women, of course, than we are about the men folks, but we will look after them just the same.

But we want you to come down and let us show you how to run a real Democratic convention, and when you get down there and get to going you can't be worried about the atmosphere. That will take care of itself. The atmosphere will be all right. We hope it will be cool and comfortable, but if the convention gets hot enough to make it otherwise it will only be for the best for the party in the end.

Come down to Houston and visit us, and do it now. You have put it off for eighty years and more, and we ask you now to come and be with us in this convention and we will give you a welcome that will give the Democracy in this country a good taste in its mouth that it has not had for a long time.

MR. JONES (of Texas): May I present the Honorable John Boyle of San Antonio. (Applause.)

MR. BOYLE (of Texas): I was really supposed to hold the line until Governor Moody could arrive. His train is a little late. I know you want to hear Governor Moody. You do not want to hear me; but I would like to say these few words to you, ladies and gentlemen. You do not know anything about Texas. You do not know anything about Houston. All you know about us is that

we return a Democratic majority of 250,000 every time there is a national election. (Applause.)

But Houston is the industrial capital of the great empire of the Southwest. Houston is the industrial capital of a great empire that has been builded by a Democracy. It is the capital of a state that produces a billion dollars a year worth of agricultural wealth of this nation; that produces billions and billions of dollars a year of oil and mineral wealth of this nation. It is a city of 250,000 people, and by the time you hold the convention there it will have 300,000 people. (Applause.)

It is the fastest growing city in America. It is the richest city of its size in America. It has eighteen hotels—not just one hotel, as some people seem to think here—it has eighteen hotels with accommodations for ten thousand guests. It has a convention hall that is adequate to provide for this convention; and if it is not adequate we will build any kind of a convention hall that you want and we will have it ready for you when the convention meets in June. We do things in Texas, and we will show you a great empire that has been builded always and at all times under the guidance of the Democratic Party.

We think it is time for you to come to Texas and know the great empire that will ultimately control the political destinies of this nation. We think it is time for you to come there and sit on the threshold of a great triumphant Democracy that has never failed to carry every election that has been held in the state since its creation. We think that it is a fine time for you to come and get an inspiration for victory from a triumphant Democracy, building a great empire in the Southwest. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from San Francisco. (Applause.)

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Isidore Dockweiler, a member of the committee from the state of California.

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Democratic National Committee: I thank you for this third privilege of appearing before you today and advancing and advocating the cause of the great city of the Pacific coast, San Francisco. (Applause.) I am not going to dilate upon its beauty, its advantages, its climate, its hotels, or any other attribute of value in connection with the selection of a convention city. You were there in 1920 and I appeal to the common experience of every delegate in our 1920 convention. I appeal to the unanimous press, the unanimous voice of the press of this

country, to testify, too, as to our advantages, superlative in character and incomparable.

It is too bad that we can not hold a session of our 1928 convention one day in Miami, another day in Detroit, a third in Chicago, a fourth day in Houston, Texas, a fifth day in Cleveland and a sixth day and a seventh day in San Francisco. Who can tell but that the ingenuity of man in the years to come may provide for quick transportation permitting such an event.

It is too bad that among these many cities, each of unquestioned merit, we can not vote for them all. It will be your duty to select one, and always with regret as to every other claimant.

San Francisco is here to break another precedent for Democratic conventions. I have here a certified check on the Riggs National Bank of this city for \$200,000, which I now tender to the chairman of our committee. I have also \$50,000 to offer on behalf of the city of San Francisco. Here is a telegram which I received this morning reading as follows:

"San Francisco, California,  
"January 12, 1928:

"Isidore Dockweiler,  
"Democratic National Committeeman,  
"Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

"You are hereby officially advised that on the 27th day of December, 1927, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco and signed by the mayor, to-wit:

"Whereas, The unanimous sentiment of the people of San Francisco is in favor of holding the Democratic National Convention, 1928, in this city and the invitation is to be presented to the Democratic National Committee at its forthcoming meeting in January, and,

"Whereas, the holding of this convention in this city would be of inestimable value and to obtain this convention guarantees of expense must be made, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the board of supervisors, the mayor concurring, pledges itself to provide, at the proper time, \$50,000 towards defraying the expenses of the Democratic National Convention, should it be held in San Francisco."

"In accordance with above resolution you are hereby directed to submit this telegram to the meeting of the Democratic National Committee, commencing January 12th.

"J. S. DUNNIGAN,  
"Clerk, Board of Supervisors,  
"City and County of San Francisco."

There is a total of \$250,000 in cash to defray your expenses. My friends, this money has been contributed by citizens of San Francisco, inspired by civic pride of the highest quality. Ninety per cent of this money is Republican money, and (laughter and applause) I hope that you will determine to spend it, because never was Republican money ever devoted to a better cause. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, I am going to call, with your permission, upon our most efficient national committeewoman, Mrs. Donohoe, for a few remarks. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Donohoe.

MRS. CHARLES L. DONOHOE (of California): Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members of the National Committee: It hardly seems four years since the time the Democratic National Committee met—when the California combination of Dockweiler and Donohoe appeared before you pleading for the privilege of taking the convention to San Francisco, and yet it is, because it is January 12, 1928, and it is my birthday and I know it is four years. (Laughter and applause.)

Now I come to you perhaps a little sentimental, and I do not want to talk about hotels, auditoriums and money. I do not even want to talk about the climate, and perhaps, as you know, we have a great deal of that in California; but rather do I come and ask of you a gift, not for myself but for the city where I was born, the city of San Francisco.

You all remember, though I presume you do not know him, that wise man who said to the youth of America, "Go west, young man, go west," and if he were here today I am sure he would say, "Go west, ye Democrats, go west." Not to the West of our friend, Mr. Kremer, with its cattle and timbers and its mountains and glaciers; not to the West of Senator Pittman, with its modest deserts and mighty mountains and lakes, but to the West of that West, to the enchanted land of California.

Perhaps some of you have heard—I have heard about the element of time. Some people speak about twenty-four hours, and even forty-eight hours, but when you go to the land of enchantment, well, the only interest you will have in twenty-four hours or forty-eight hours is to see how you can make it just twice as long.

When you go out there to California, perhaps you are going to say, "While we are here, after the convention, we are going to see Mt. Lassen, the only living volcano in America." Or perhaps you might say, "We will want to see our modest redwoods." There is nothing like that anywhere in the world. And maybe some of you have heard of the great Bay of San Francisco, and you will

want to know whether it is true that every ship afloat could be put in the Bay of San Francisco and still have room to maneuver.

And, if those things do not interest you, we have still the oldest living things in all the world, the oldest living things scientists know anything about. They were old even when Christ walked on Calvary, those great giant sequoias in Sequoia National Park.

Then, if all of those scenes do not interest you, we have Mr. Dockweiler's part of the state, and down there you will find so little time for the things you will want to see.

And, there is another side to this question of time, it seems to me, and that is that any person who is a delegate to so vital an affair as a national convention should hardly, in justice to his party, put a few hours of his time against the success of the great National Committee which controls the party government for four years; it is the party itself that we should consider and not the twenty-four hours of our time.

And so I have come to you to plead for my St. Francis. They are waiting out there this morning. They are listening, figuratively speaking, not only in San Francisco, but all California. They wait there to welcome us and to greet us and fling wide that Golden Gate that hangs on hinges of hospitality and good fellowship. So come, I beg of you, to my city, San Francisco. I thank you. (Applause.)

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The city of San Francisco, desiring to be officially represented here, has sent to us two of its supervisors, members of the city government—Supervisor Emmett Hatton and Supervisor Shannon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Supervisor Shannon of San Francisco.

MR. SHANNON (of San Francisco): Mr. Chairman, I present to you the official invitation of the city and county of San Francisco, and ladies and gentlemen of the Democratic National Committee, on behalf of Mayor James Rolfe and the board of supervisors of San Francisco, whom I represent, we invite you to the city loved around the world; to the city that a prominent American statesman said is the city that knows how; to the city that Rudyard Kipling said has only one drawback, "It is difficult to leave"; to the city by the Golden Gate, San Francisco, where it is cool in summer.

And, when you come to San Francisco, in addition to being delighted with spending the Republican money that Mr. Dockweiler spoke about, you will say, "Well, we are lucky to come to this delightful city where it is cool in summer."

And that reminds me of an Irish story. A priest was walking down the street one day and met O'Brien, and he said:

"O'Brien, I am awfully glad to see you."

"And I am glad to see you, Father."

"O'Brien, we are having a fair up at the church, and we are going to have a raffle and I would like to have you take some tickets."

"And what are you raffling, Father?"

"Well, we are raffling an upright piano and a phonograph and a Persian rug."

"Well, I will take ten dollars' worth of tickets, Father."

"Well, that is surely nice, O'Brien."

"That is all right, Father."

About six months time elapsed and the priest was walking down the street again and met O'Brien, and said, "O'Brien, I am awfully glad to see you."

"And I am glad to see you, too, Father. You recall, Father, when I met you about six months ago, you were having a fair up at the church, and you were having a raffle. Tell me, Father, who won that upright piano?"

"Why, the bishop won the upright, O'Brien."

"Well, well, wasn't he lucky?"

"Yes, he was lucky, O'Brien."

"And who won that graphophone, Father?"

"Why, the parish priest won the graphophone, O'Brien."

"Well, well, wasn't he lucky?"

"Well, yes, he was lucky, O'Brien."

"And tell me, who won the Persian rug?"

"Why, the sexton won the Persian rug."

"Well, well, wasn't he lucky?"

"Yes, he was lucky, O'Brien."

"Well, well, Father, I am very glad I saw you. I will be running along."

"Say, O'Brien, when you got that ten dollars' worth of tickets you did not pay me."

"Didn't I pay you, Father? Well, well, now wasn't I lucky?"  
(Laughter and applause.)

So you have the double incentive to come to California, the Republican money and the delightful climate in the month of June.

A word about our auditorium. It has a seating capacity of 12,000, with nineteen committee rooms, seating from 25 to 150, and eleven smaller halls. In addition to the main auditorium we have two auxiliary halls that will accommodate 1,500 each.

The auditorium is equipped with a Western Electric loud speaker, a \$65,000 organ and, in fact, all modern conveniences. We can seat 12,000 in the hall, but when our late lamented President Wilson was there we packed in 20,000 people, and in men-

tioning his name I desire to say that San Francisco was honored yesterday at the luncheon given to the national committeewomen by the presence of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. Be assured the presence of that gracious lady has made a nick in our hearts that will never be effaced. (Applause.)

So I bid you to come to the land of mental activity; to the land of homes, of sunshine and flowers; of men who grasp you by the hand and look you in the eye; the land upon whose shores the broad Pacific rolls in its majestic glory and imbues all with a noble thought, the noblest thought on earth, the love of your fellow man and San Francisco! San Francisco! (Applause.)

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Ladies and Gentlemen, may I present Mr. Shaw, president of the hotel men's association, who will take about two minutes to tell you about the hotel rates.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: San Francisco has 1,800 hotels; we have housed every convention of any fraternal bodies that have ever been held there. Very briefly I will give you a digest of the hotel rates. Mr. Dockweiler and the other representatives have told you what we are going to do for the committee. I will now tell you what the San Francisco hotel men are going to do for the delegates, the alternates, the newspaper men, and the others who may attend our convention.

The maximum rates in the San Francisco hotels will be \$2.50 for a room with bath to \$10.00 at the five leading hotels of our city. The leading hotels included in the maximum rate of \$10 a day for two persons are the Clift, Fairmount, Mark Hopkins, Palace and St. Francis.

San Francisco has more hotels in proportion to its population than any other city in the world. Eighteen hundred licensed hotels, of which 485 hotels with 75,000 rooms are located in the downtown area within twelve blocks of the San Francisco auditorium.

I will now file with the committee a schedule or alphabetical list of hotels showing the rates that will prevail in San Francisco during the Democratic National Convention, if held in San Francisco, as per signed pledges in my possession.

The schedule shows the names of the hotels, the number of rooms allotted in each hotel to the committee, the rate for one person, for two persons, and the rate for each extra person; at the Palace, St. Francis and those other three hotels, for the extra person it will be two dollars per person.

There has been a downward revision in hotel rates since you came to San Francisco. San Francisco hotels in location, structure, equipment and service can not be beat anywhere in the world.

With this I will now file with the committee the list of 485

hotels within a twelve-block area, a copy of the bills of fare, showing rates that will prevail in the San Francisco hotels. I thank you. (Applause.)

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Just one more speaker I desire to present to you, California's Democratic congressman, the Honorable Clarence F. Lea.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lea.

MR. LEA (of California): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I hold in my hand the unanimous invitation of the delegation from California for you to establish the Democratic convention in San Francisco next June.

The invitation is as follows:

"To the National Democratic Committee:

"The members of the California delegation in Congress join in expressing the hope that you will select San Francisco as the meeting place of your national convention. We can assure you a most cordial reception in our state, where our people, regardless of party, will join in wishing you a pleasant visit and a successful convention.

"HIRAM W. JOHNSON,  
"SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE,  
"C. F. CURRY,  
"CLARENCE F. LEA,  
"HARRY L. ENGLEBRIGHT,  
"HENRY E. BARBOUR,  
"A. M. FREE,  
"ALBERT E. CARTER,  
"RICHARD J. WELCH,  
"FLORENCE P. KAHN,  
"PHILIP D. SWING,  
"W. E. EVART,  
"JOE CRAIL."

This committee may well consider the local political effect of selecting any particular place in which your convention may meet in this country. California is unquestionably strongly inclined to support the nominee of the Republican Party for President. It is nevertheless true that California people, if you will give them a good reason to support your nominee, will give you an open hearing, and if you can convince their people upon the merits they will try to give you a just decision next November. In other words, as a Democrat from that great state, I can assure you that there is one way in which California may be an open state next November, and that is that your convention give us a real man and real issues. California is a great progressive state. It is one of the most open-minded states in this country. I am a living

example of the open-mindedness and of the political generosity of the people of California, because for eleven years, though a Democrat, they have permitted me to represent them in Congress.

So come to San Francisco; give us a real man and real issues, and California will be a battleground. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That closes San Francisco?

MR. ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER: Yes, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next is Cleveland.

MR. JOHN T. BARNETT (of Colorado): Mr. Chairman, Cleveland's claims will be presented by Mrs. Pyke. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Pyke of Ohio.

MRS. BERNICE PYKE (of Ohio): Mr. Chairman, Members of the Democratic National Committee, the Press and Friends: It is with great pleasure that I come before you this morning to extend to you an invitation to bring the Democratic National Convention to Cleveland this year. The invitation from the board, the convention board of the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland, assures you of \$150,000 for your expenses.

The city manager of Cleveland, Mr. Hopkins, extends his personal invitation and the invitation of the city and assures us of the use of our big auditorium without any expense.

I do not need to tell you of the geographic location of Cleveland, its attractiveness and that it is easily accessible for all of us in any part of the country. We are on the lake, where we are comfortable all summer long. Within three or four blocks of our public auditorium we have sufficient hotels to house all of the delegates and friends of this convention. Our auditorium is new. It seats 12,500 people. We are adding two wings that will be completed May 1, and will add a seating capacity of 3,500. We have in this auditorium enough extra rooms for committee meetings to accommodate 3,000 people.

I want to say this in inviting you to Cleveland: I want you to remember that there is always a chance of carrying Ohio Democratically. I believe when choosing, fellow members of this committee, a place for your convention, you should bear in mind that we want the convention to contribute to the success of the election in 1928.

I do not believe we need any added arguments or oratory to let you know that Cleveland is an attractive place in which to hold this convention. We have made a name for ourselves as a convention city, have entertained large international conventions in that city, and I am only going to say in closing that Cleveland sincerely wants this convention. We will give you every attention.

The hotels have assured us that their rates will remain and, lest you might forget, I want to relate to you that in 1924 the

President of the United States was nominated in Cleveland, and history might repeat itself. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before proceeding with the ballot the chair will name as tellers Thomas J. Spellacy of Connecticut, John S. Cohen of Georgia, Mrs. Weston Vernon of Utah and Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson of Louisiana.

MR. JONES (of Texas): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jones of Texas.

MR. JONES: Mr. Chairman, before we proceed with the ballot I want to make an announcement, with the privilege of the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed.

MR. JONES: Democrats like to keep their promises. Texans like to keep their promises. I said to you that we hoped to present to you the young governor of Texas. This is the first time in his life he was fifteen minutes late. He never will be any more. With your approval I want to present to you now, in compliance with my promise, the youngest governor of this greatest state of ours, the state of Texas (applause) known as the Honorable Daniel Moody, but as we all love to call him in Texas, Dan Moody. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Governor Moody.

#### ADDRESS BY HONORABLE DANIEL MOODY, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TEXAS

Governor Moody (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I assure you that I esteem it a great honor to be presented to this committee. I understand—I just arrived a few minutes ago—and I understand one of the cities of my state, or our state, has invited you to select it as the next convention city for the Democratic Party.

I want to say to you that if you should do that, the fine people of Texas would be mighty glad to have you. I have listened to what a good many of the other speakers have been saying in advocating their city as the convention city for the Democratic Party, and I know we have in Houston everything they claim for any other city and then we have one thing more: We have about nine Democrats in Texas to one Republican, something none of the rest of you claim. (Applause.)

Certainly you would be welcome in Texas. It is not an invitation merely from the city of Houston that comes to you today. I know I speak the sentiments of the people of Texas when I say that the Democrats of Texas, and that is pretty nearly everybody down there, would be delighted and be very much pleased and happy if you should select one of our cities, and Houston, as the next convention city.

The state of Texas is Democratic and you will feel at home and the delegates will be welcomed by Democrats when you meet in your next convention, should you select Houston, Texas. I thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the tellers please come forward.

VINCENT M. MILES (of Arkansas): Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the National Committee from the state of Arkansas, and before the vote is taken, I just want to say one word, not as a southerner, because the sectional idea—it is not on sectional lines; there are no sectional lines. The assembling of four million young men in the great camps of the World War wiped out any idea of South and North, and I do not speak, then, as a southerner, but I do speak as a member of the committee from a section of the country where we always send in big Democratic majorities and I feel that the question of the difference between \$150,000 and \$250,000 should not make any difference in the selection of the convention city (applause) because you can come to Texas in this great empire spoken of by these people, industrial empire, and find men who love the Democratic Party enough to give \$100,000 when they are requested to do it and they do not have to rely upon Republican money. (Applause.) And, in addition to that, and I am going to give you the real secret of my remarks, Mr. Jones owns the biggest hotel down there and if we get broke down there he will cash our checks, so we can go home. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The tellers will please come forward and prepare to call the roll.

MR. J. BRUCE KREMER (of Montana): The committee on resolutions is absent at this time. I suggest that if we are going to take this vote, in view of the fact that the ladies and gentlemen on that committee are devoting their time to the services of the committee, that some provision should be made whereby they can cast their ballots. I would suggest, therefore, that we take a recess for any time that may be mentioned so as to give the committee an opportunity to be here and vote. The committee on resolutions is out. It is unfair to vote while the members of that committee are absent. They are doing a service for this committee. Or, we might send someone for them.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that we send someone. We want to get through as soon as we can.

The secretary will call the roll.

A COMMITTEEMAN: I suggest that we adjourn until four o'clock. (There were cries of "No, no, no.")

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee of tellers consists of Mr. Spelacy, Mr. Cohen, Mrs. Vernon and Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Genevieve

Clark Thomson. Mrs. Thomson does not seem to be present. We will name Mrs. Stevens of Mississippi.

A COMMITTEEMAN: I suggest that the ladies do the counting, and do it right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The cities are: Detroit, Miami, Chicago, Houston, San Francisco and Cleveland.

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia): Mr. Chairman, I move that we proceed with the roll call and take a vote.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

(The secretary called the roll and the result of the first ballot was announced as follows:)

#### FIRST BALLOT

##### STATES VOTING FOR DETROIT

Iowa, Clyde L. Herring.....	1
Mrs. Madge O'Neill (by proxy, Geo. F. Milton).....	1
Maryland, Howard Bruce.....	1
Mrs. S. Johnson Poé.....	1
Michigan, William A. Comstock.....	1
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	1
Missouri, W. T. Kemper (by proxy, Harry B. Hawes).....	1
Nebraska, Arthur F. Mullen.....	1
Dr. Jennie Callfas.....	1
New Hampshire, Robert C. Murchie (by proxy, Robt. Jackson) ..	1
North Dakota, R. B. Murphy.....	1
Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Guffey.....	1
Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	1
Rhode Island, Patrick H. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	1
South Dakota, W. W. Howes.....	1
Vermont, Frank H. Duffy.....	1
Washington, Mrs. E. D. Christian (by proxy, James J. Hoey) ..	1
West Virginia, C. W. Osenton.....	1
Wisconsin, Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	1
District of Columbia, John F. Costello.....	1
Porto Rico, Henry W. Dooley (by proxy, Thomas B. Lawler) ..	1
Mrs. Isabel Locke Horton (by proxy, Mrs. J. S. Whittemore) ..	1
Total .....	23

##### STATES VOTING FOR MIAMI

Florida, J. T. G. Crawford.....	1
Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner.....	1
Georgia, John S. Cohen.....	1
Mrs. Edgar Alexander.....	1

Oklahoma, Scott Ferris.....	1
Mrs. D. A. McDougal.....	1
Total .....	6

## STATES VOTING FOR CHICAGO

Illinois, George Brennan.....	1
Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.....	1
Minnesota, Joseph Wolf.....	1
Wisconsin, John M. Callahan.....	1
Philippine Islands, Robert E. Manly (by proxy, Ed N. Hurley) .....	1
Total .....	5

## STATES VOTING FOR HOUSTON

Alabama, Walter Moore.....	1
Mrs. Charles J. Sharp.....	1
Arizona, W. L. Barnum.....	1
Mrs. Theodora Marsh.....	1
Arkansas, Vincent M. Miles.....	1
Miss Alice Cordell.....	1
Colorado, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee (by proxy, Jno. T. Barnett) .....	1
Connecticut, Thomas J. Spellacy.....	1
Delaware, Andrew C. Gray.....	1
Mrs. John R. Eskridge .....	1
Kentucky, Urey Woodson.....	1
Louisiana, Lee E. Thomas.....	1
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.....	1
Mississippi, Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens.....	1
Missouri, Mrs. Emily N. Blair.....	1
New Jersey, Frank Hague.....	1
Mrs. James J. Billington.....	1
New Mexico, Arthur Seligman (by proxy, Sam G. Bratton) .....	1
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby (by proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones) .....	1
New York, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.....	1
South Carolina, Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	1
Tennessee, Cordell Hull.....	1
Mrs. Benton McMillin (by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass).....	1
Texas, Jed Adams.....	1
Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth (by proxy, Thomas B. Love) .....	1
Virginia, Carter Glass.....	1
Mrs. Beverly B. Munford (by proxy, Carter Glass) .....	1
West Virginia, Mrs. Frank Mann.....	1
Wyoming, Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair (by proxy, Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross) .....	1

Canal Zone, Frank Hamlin.....	1
Total .....	30

## STATES VOTING FOR SAN FRANCISCO

California, Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	1
Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.....	1
Colorado, John T. Barnett.....	1
Idaho, Robert H. Elder (by proxy, Joel L. Priest).....	1
Mrs. T. M. Graham.....	1
Indiana, Charles A. Greathouse.....	1
Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs (by proxy, A. C. Sallee).....	1
Kansas, Dudley Doolittle.....	1
Massachusetts, Edward W. Quinn.....	1
Minnesota, Miss Jessie Scott.....	1
Montana, J. Bruce Kremer.....	1
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.....	1
Nevada, Samuel M. Pickett (by proxy, Justus Wardell).....	1
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff (by proxy, Key Pittman).....	1
New York, Norman E. Mack.....	1
Oregon, Will R. King.....	1
Mrs. Irene E. Stuart (by proxy, Mrs. E. P. King).....	1
South Carolina, John G. Evans.....	1
Utah, James H. Moyle.....	1
Washington, George F. Christensen.....	1
Wyoming, Patrick J. Quealy.....	1
Alaska, T. J. Donohoe (by proxy, Thomas Riggs).....	1
Mrs. John W. Troy (by proxy, George Brennan).....	1
Philippine Islands, Grace E. Westerhouse (by proxy, Daniel C. Roper) .....	1
Total .....	24

## STATES VOTING FOR CLEVELAND

Connecticut, Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	1
Kansas, Mrs. F. G. Farley.....	1
Kentucky, Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.....	1
Maine, D. J. McGillicuddy.....	1
Mrs. William R. Pattangall.....	1
New Hampshire, Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.....	1
North Carolina, F. M. Simmon (by proxy, Frank Hampton)....	1
Miss Mary O. Graham (by proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman)....	1
Ohio, W. A. Julian.....	1
Mrs. Bernice Pyke.....	1

Utah, Mrs. Weston Vernon.....	1
Total .....	11

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will be in order.

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Mr. Chairman, due to confusion in the room there has been a difference in the count of the tellers by one vote, but the way we get it there is no majority anyway. The result of the ballot is, Detroit, 23; Miami, 6; Chicago, 5; San Francisco, 25; Cleveland, 11, and Houston, 30. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the total vote cast?

MR. THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Ninety-nine votes cast.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no choice. Fifty votes on the vote cast are necessary for a choice. No city having received the required number, the secretary will proceed with the roll call. Now, let us have order.

(The secretary called the roll and the result of the second ballot was as follows:)

#### SECOND BALLOT

##### STATES VOTING FOR DETROIT

Illinois, George E. Brennan.....	1
Iowa, Clyde L. Herring.....	1
Mrs. Madge O'Neill (by proxy, Geo. F. Milton).....	1
Maine, D. J. McGillicuddy.....	1
Maryland, Howard Bruce.....	1
Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.....	1
Michigan, William A. Comstock.....	1
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	1
Minnesota, Joseph Wolf.....	1
Missouri, W. T. Kemper (by proxy, Harry B. Hawes).....	1
Nebraska, Arthur F. Mullen.....	1
Dr. Jennie Callfas.....	1
Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Guffey.....	1
Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	1
Rhode Island, Patrick H. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	1
South Dakota, W. W. Howes.....	1
Washington, George F. Christensen.....	1
West Virginia, C. W. Osenton.....	1
Wisconsin, John M. Callahan.....	1
Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	1
District of Columbia, John F. Costello.....	1

Porto Rico, Henry W. Dooley (by proxy, Thomas B. Lawler) . . . . .	1
Mrs. Isabel Locke Horton (by proxy, Mrs. J. C. Whittemore) . . . . .	1
Total . . . . .	24

## STATES VOTING FOR CLEVELAND

Connecticut, Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott . . . . .	1
Illinois, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank . . . . .	1
Kentucky, Mrs. J. C. Cantrill . . . . .	1
Maine, Mrs. William R. Pattangall . . . . .	1
Massachusetts, Mrs. N. M. Sullivan . . . . .	1
New Hampshire, Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson . . . . .	1
North Carolina, F. M. Simmons (by proxy, Frank Hampton) . . . . .	1
Miss Mary O. Graham (by proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman) . . . . .	1
North Dakota, R. B. Murphy . . . . .	1
Ohio, W. A. Julian . . . . .	1
Mrs. Bernice Pyke . . . . .	1
Oklahoma, Scott Ferris . . . . .	1
Utah, Mrs. Weston Vernon . . . . .	1
Total . . . . .	13

## STATES VOTING FOR HOUSTON

Alabama, Walter Moore . . . . .	1
Mrs. Charles J. Sharp . . . . .	1
Arizona, W. L. Barnum . . . . .	1
Mrs. Theodora Marsh . . . . .	1
Arkansas, Vincent M. Miles . . . . .	1
Miss Alice Cordell . . . . .	1
Connecticut, Thomas J. Spellacy . . . . .	1
Colorado, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee (by proxy, Jno. T. Barnett) . . . . .	1
Delaware, Andrew C. Gray . . . . .	1
Mrs. John R. Eskridge . . . . .	1
Florida, J. T. G. Crawford . . . . .	1
Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner . . . . .	1
Georgia, John S. Cohen . . . . .	1
Mrs. Edgar Alexander . . . . .	1
Indiana, Charles A. Greathouse . . . . .	1
Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs (by proxy, A. C. Sallee) . . . . .	1
Kentucky, Urey Woodson . . . . .	1
Louisiana, Lee E. Thomas . . . . .	1
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson . . . . .	1
Mississippi, Henry Minor . . . . .	1
Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens . . . . .	1
Missouri, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair . . . . .	1

New Jersey, Frank Hague.....	1
Mrs. James J. Billington.....	1
New Mexico, Arthur Seligman (by proxy, Sam G. Bratton).....	1
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby (by proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones).....	1
New York, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.....	1
Oklahoma, Mrs. D. A. McDougal.....	1
Tennessee, Cordell Hull.....	1
Mrs. Benton McMillin (by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass).....	1
Texas, Jed Adams.....	1
Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth (by proxy, Thomas B. Love).....	1
Vermont, Frank H. Duffy.....	1
Virginia, Carter Glass.....	1
Mrs. Beverly B. Munford (by proxy, Carter Glass).....	1
West Virginia, Mrs. Frank Mann.....	1
Canal Zone, Frank Hamlin.....	1
<hr/>	
Total .....	37

## STATES VOTING FOR SAN FRANCISCO

California, Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	1
Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.....	1
Colorado, John T. Barnett.....	1
Idaho, Robert H. Elder (by proxy, Joel L. Priest).....	1
Mrs. T. M. Graham.....	1
Kansas, Dudley Doolittle.....	1
Mrs. Florence G. Farley.....	1
Minnesota, Miss Jessie Scott.....	1
Montana, J. Bruce Kremer.....	1
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.....	1
Nevada, Samuel M. Pickett (by proxy, Justus Wardell).....	1
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff (by proxy, Key Pittman).....	1
New York, Norman E. Mack.....	1
Oregon, Will R. King.....	1
Mrs. Irene E. Stuart (by proxy, Mrs. E. P. King).....	1
South Carolina, John G. Evans.....	1
Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	1
Utah, James H. Moyle.....	1
Washington, Mrs. E. D. Christian (by proxy, James J. Hoey)....	1
Wyoming, Patrick J. Quealy.....	1
Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair (by proxy, Mrs. Nellie T. Ross)....	1
Alaska, T. J. Donohoe (by proxy, Thomas Riggs).....	1
Mrs. John W. Troy (by proxy, George Brennan).....	1

Philippine Islands, Robert E. Manly (by proxy, Ed N. Hurley)	1
Grace E. Westerhouse (by proxy, Daniel C. Roper)	—
Total .....	25

(While the tellers were counting the ballots, and before announcing the result of the second ballot, the following took place:)

MR. JOHN M. CALLAHAN (of Wisconsin): Mr. Chairman, after the vote is announced, I desire to make a motion that we adjourn for one hour, until 3:45.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to remind you that we have a dinner tonight. We can not get to that unless this meeting proceeds.

A COMMITTEEMAN: I hope that we will go ahead and finish.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am afraid we will not be able to get down to that banquet tonight unless we proceed. Let the committee be in order. The committee will be in order. The tellers will announce the result of the second ballot.

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): The total number of votes cast was 99. Necessary for a choice, 50. Detroit, 24; San Francisco, 25; Cleveland, 13; Houston, 37. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: No city having received the number of votes necessary to a choice, we will proceed with the call of the roll.

(The secretary called the roll and the result of the third ballot was as follows:)

### THIRD BALLOT

#### STATES VOTING FOR DETROIT

Connecticut, Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	1
Maine, D. J. McGillicuddy.....	1
Maryland, Howard Bruce.....	1
Michigan, William A. Comstock.....	1
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	1
Missouri, W. T. Kemper (by proxy, Harry B. Hawes).....	1
New Hampshire, Robert C. Murchie (by proxy, Robt. Jackson).....	1
Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.....	1
North Dakota, R. B. Murphy.....	1
Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Guffey.....	1
Rhode Island, Patrick H. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	1
South Dakota, W. W. Howes.....	1
Vermont, Frank H. Duffy.....	1
West Virginia, C. W. Osenton.....	1
Wisconsin, Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	1
District of Columbia, John F. Costello.....	1

Porto Rico, Henry W. Dooley (by proxy, Thomas B. Lawler) ..	1
Mrs. Isabel Locke Horton (by proxy, Mrs. J. C. Whittemore) ..	1
Total .....	19

## STATES VOTING FOR CLEVELAND

Illinois, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.....	1
Maine, Mrs. William R. Pattangall.....	1
Ohio, W. A. Julian.....	1
Mrs. Bernice Pyke.....	1
Hawaii, Mrs. L. L. McCandless (by proxy, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman) .....	1
District of Columbia, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman.....	1
Total .....	6

## STATES VOTING FOR HOUSTON

Alabama, Walter Moore.....	1
Mrs. Charles J. Sharp.....	1
Arizona, W. L. Barnum.....	1
Mrs. Theodora Marsh.....	1
Arkansas, Vincent M. Miles.....	1
Miss Alice Cordell.....	1
Connecticut, Thomas J. Spellacy.....	1
Colorado, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee (by proxy, Jno. T. Barnett) .....	1
Delaware, Andrew C. Gray.....	1
Mrs. John R. Eskridge.....	1
Florida, J. T. G. Crawford.....	1
Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner.....	1
Georgia, John S. Cohen.....	1
Mrs. Edgar Alexander.....	1
Indiana, Charles A. Greathouse.....	1
Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs (by proxy, A. C. Sallee) .....	1
Kentucky, Urey Woodson.....	1
Louisiana, Lee E. Thomas.....	1
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.....	1
Maryland, Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.....	1
Mississippi, Henry Minor.....	1
Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens.....	1
Missouri, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair.....	1
New Jersey, Frank Hague.....	1
Mrs. James J. Billington.....	1
New York, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.....	1
North Carolina, F. M. Simmons (by proxy, Frank Hampton) .....	1
Miss Mary O. Graham (by proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman) .....	1

New Mexico, Arthur Seligman (by proxy, Sam G. Bratton) ....	1
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby (by proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones) ....	1
Oklahoma, Scott Ferris.....	1
Mrs. D. A. McDougal.....	1
South Carolina, John G. Evans.....	1
Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	1
Tennessee, Cordell Hull.....	1
Mrs. Benton McMillin (by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass) ....	1
Texas, Jed Adams.....	1
Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth (by proxy, Thomas B. Love) .....	1
Utah, Mrs. Weston Vernon.....	1
Virginia, Carter Glass.....	1
Mrs. Beverly B. Munford (by proxy, Carter Glass) .....	1
West Virginia, Mrs. Frank Mann.....	1
Canal Zone, Mrs. L. O. Keen (by proxy, Mrs. John Newell Blair) 1	1
Total .....	43

## STATES VOTING FOR SAN FRANCISCO

California, Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	1
Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.....	1
Colorado, John T. Barnett.....	1
Idaho, Robert H. Elder (by proxy, Joel L. Priest) .....	1
Mrs. Teresa M. Graham.....	1
Illinois, George E. Brennan.....	1
Iowa, Clyde L. Herring.....	1
Mrs. Madge O'Neill (by proxy, Geo. F. Milton) .....	1
Kansas, Dudley Doolittle.....	1
Mrs. Florence G. Farley.....	1
Kentucky, Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.....	1
Massachusetts, Edward Q. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Nellie M. Sullivan.....	1
Minnesota, Joseph Wolf.....	1
Miss Jessie Scott.....	1
Montana, J. Bruce Kremer.....	1
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.....	1
Nebraska, Arthur F. Mullen.....	1
Dr. Jennie Callfas.....	1
Nevada, Samuel M. Pickett (by proxy, Justus Wardell) .....	1
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff (by proxy, Key Pittman) .....	1
New York, Norman E. Mack.....	1
Oregon, Will R. King.....	1
Mrs. Irene E. Stuart (by proxy, Mrs. E. P. King) .....	1
Pennsylvania, Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	1
Utah, James H. Moyle.....	1

Washington, George F. Christensen.....	1
Mrs. E. D. Christian (by proxy, James J. Hoey).....	1
Wisconsin, John M. Callahan.....	1
Wyoming, Patrick J. Quealy.....	1
Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair (by proxy, Mrs. Nellie T. Ross)....	1
Alaska, T. J. Donohoe (by proxy, Thomas Riggs).....	1
Mrs. John W. Troy (by proxy, George Brennan).....	1
Philippine Islands, Robert E. Manly (by proxy, Ed N. Hurley)....	1
Grace E. Westerhouse (by proxy, Daniel C. Roper).....	1
Canal Zone, Frank Hamlin.....	1
Total .....	— 36

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Mr. Chairman, the total number of votes cast, 105. Necessary for a choice, 53. Detroit, 19; San Francisco, 36; Cleveland, 6; Houston, 44. No choice.

THE CHAIRMAN: No city being voted for having received a majority of the votes cast, the clerk will call the roll.

(The secretary called the roll and the result of the fourth ballot was as follows:)

#### FOURTH BALLOT

##### STATES VOTING FOR DETROIT

Connecticut, Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	1
Michigan, William A. Comstock.....	1
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	1
New Hampshire, Robert C. Murchie (by proxy, Robt. Jackson)....	1
Rhode Island, Patrick H. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	1
West Virginia, C. W. Osenton.....	1
Wisconsin, Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	1
Porto Rico, Henry W. Dooley (by proxy, Thomas B. Lawler)....	1
Mrs. Isabel Locke Horton (by proxy, Mrs. J. S. Whittemore) ...	1
Total .....	— 10

##### STATES VOTING FOR CLEVELAND

Illinois, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.....	1
Ohio, W. A. Julian.....	1
Mrs. Bernice Pyke.....	1
Total .....	— 3

##### STATES VOTING FOR HOUSTON

Alabama, Walter Moore.....	1
Mrs. Charles J. Sharp.....	1

Arizona, W. L. Barnum.....	1
Mrs. Theodora Marsh.....	1
Arkansas, Vincent M. Miles.....	1
Miss Alice Cordell.....	1
Connecticut, Thomas J. Spellacy.....	1
Colorado, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee (by proxy, Jno. T. Barnett)....	1
Delaware, Andrew C. Gray.....	1
Mrs. John R. Eskridge.....	1
Florida, J. T. G. Crawford.....	1
Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner.....	1
Georgia, John S. Cohen.....	1
Mrs. Edgar Alexander.....	1
Indiana, Charles A. Greathouse.....	1
Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs (by proxy, A. C. Sallee).....	1
Iowa, Mrs. Madge O'Neill (by proxy, Geo. F. Milton)....	1
Kentucky, Urey Woodson.....	1
Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.....	1
Louisiana, Lee E. Thomas.....	1
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.....	1
Maine, Mrs. William R. Pattangall.....	1
Maryland, Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.....	1
Mississippi, Henry Minor.....	1
Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens.....	1
Missouri, W. T. Kemper (by proxy, Harry B. Hawes).....	1
Mrs. Emily Newell Blair.....	1
New Hampshire, Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.....	1
New Mexico, Arthur Seligman (by proxy, Sam G. Bratton)....	1
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby (by proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones)....	1
New York, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.....	1
North Carolina, F. M. Simmons (by proxy, Frank Hampton)....	1
Miss Mary O. Graham (by proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman)....	1
Oklahoma, Scott Ferris.....	1
Mrs. D. A. McDougal.....	1
South Carolina, John G. Evans.....	1
Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	1
South Dakota, W. W. Howes.....	1
Tennessee, Cordell Hull.....	1
Mrs. Benton McMillin (by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass)....	1
Texas, Jed Adams.....	1
Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth (by proxy, Thomas B. Love).....	1
Utah, Mrs. Weston Vernon.....	1
Vermont, Frank H. Duffy.....	1
Virginia, Carter Glass.....	1
Mrs. Beverly B. Munford (by proxy, Carter Glass).....	1
West Virginia, Mrs. Frank Mann.....	1

Philippine Islands, Grace E. Westerhouse (by proxy, Daniel C. Roper) .....	1
Total .....	48

## STATES VOTING FOR SAN FRANCISCO

California, Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	1
Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.....	1
Colorado, John T. Barnett.....	1
Idaho, Robert H. Elder (by proxy, Joel L. Priest) .....	1
Mrs. Teresa M. Graham.....	1
Illinois, George E. Brennan.....	1
Iowa, Clyde L. Herring.....	1
Kansas, Dudley Doolittle.....	1
Mrs. Florence G. Farley.....	1
Maine, D. J. McGillicuddy.....	1
Maryland, Howard Bruce.....	1
Massachusetts, Edward W. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Nellie M. Sullivan.....	1
Minnesota, Joseph Wolf.....	1
Miss Jessie Scott.....	1
Montana, J. Bruce Kremer.....	1
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.....	1
Nebraska, Arthur F. Mullen.....	1
Dr. Jennie Callfas.....	1
Nevada, Samuel M. Pickett (by proxy, Justus Wardell) .....	1
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff (by proxy, Key Pittman) .....	1
New York, Norman E. Mack.....	1
North Dakota, R. B. Murphy.....	1
Oregon, Will R. King.....	1
Mrs. Irene E. Stuart (by proxy, Mrs. E. P. King) .....	1
Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Guffey.....	1
Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	1
Utah, James H. Moyle.....	1
Washington, George F. Christensen.....	1
Mrs. E. D. Christian (by proxy, James J. Hoey) .....	1
Wisconsin, John M. Callahan.....	1
Wyoming, Patrick J. Quealy.....	1
Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair (by proxy, Mrs. Nellie T. Ross) .....	1
Alaska, T. J. Donohoe (by proxy, Thomas Riggs) .....	1
Mrs. John W. Troy (by proxy, George Brennan) .....	1
District of Columbia, John F. Costello.....	1
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman.....	1
Hawaii, Mrs. L. L. McCandless (by proxy, Mrs. J. B. Harriman) .....	1
Philippine Islands, Robt. E. Manly (by proxy, Ed N. Hurley) .....	1

Canal Zone, Frank Hamlin.....	1
Mrs. L. O. Keen (by proxy, Mrs. John N. Blair).....	1
Total .....	41

PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): Mr. Chairman, while the tellers are counting the vote, I have a suggestion. If no result is reached at this time, that San Francisco and Houston withdraw and we nominate Detroit by acclamation.

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Mr. Chairman, the total number of votes cast is 103; necessary for a choice, 52. Houston, 48; San Francisco, 42; Detroit, 10; Cleveland, 3.

THE CHAIRMAN: No city having received the necessary number of votes, the secretary will proceed with the roll call.

(The secretary called the roll and the result of the fifth ballot was as follows:)

#### FIFTH BALLOT

##### STATES VOTING FOR HOUSTON

Alabama, Walter Moore.....	1
Mrs. Charles J. Sharp.....	1
Arizona, W. L. Barnum.....	1
Mrs. Theodora Marsh.....	1
Arkansas, Vincent M. Miles.....	1
Miss Alice Cordell.....	1
Colorado, Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee (by proxy, Jno. T. Barnett).....	1
Connecticut, Thomas J. Spellacy.....	1
Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	1
Delaware, Andrew C. Gray.....	1
Mrs. John R. Eskridge.....	1
Florida, J. T. G. Crawford.....	1
Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner.....	1
Georgia, John S. Cohen.....	1
Mrs. Edgar Alexander.....	1
Indiana, Charles A. Greathouse.....	1
Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs (by proxy, A. C. Sallee).....	1
Iowa, Mrs. Madge O'Neill (by proxy, Geo. F. Milton).....	1
Kentucky, Urey Woodson.....	1
Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.....	1
Louisiana, Lee E. Thomas.....	1
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.....	1
Maine, Mrs. William R. Pattangall.....	1
Maryland, Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.....	1
Mississippi, Henry Minor.....	1
Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens.....	1

Missouri, W. T. Kemper (by proxy, Harry B. Hawes).....	1
Mrs. Emily Newell Blair.....	1
New Hampshire, Robert C. Murchie (by proxy, Robt. Jackson) .....	1
Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.....	1
New Jersey, Frank Hague.....	1
Mrs. J. J. Billington.....	1
New Mexico, Arthur Seligman (by proxy, Sam G. Bratton).....	1
Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby (by proxy, Mrs. A. A. Jones).....	1
New York, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.....	1
North Carolina, F. M. Simmons (by proxy, Frank Hampton) .....	1
Miss Mary O. Graham (by proxy, Mrs. Palmer Jerman).....	1
Ohio, W. A. Julian.....	1
Oklahoma, Scott Ferris.....	1
Mrs. D. A. McDougal.....	1
Rhode Island, Patrick H. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	1
South Carolina, John G. Evans.....	1
Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	1
South Dakota, W. W. Howes.....	1
Tennessee, Cordell Hull.....	1
Mrs. Benton McMillin (by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Bass).....	1
Texas, Jed Adams.....	1
Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth (by proxy, Thomas B. Love).....	1
Utah, Mrs. Weston Vernon.....	1
Virginia, Carter Glass.....	1
Mrs. Beverly B. Munford (by proxy, Carter Glass).....	1
West Virginia, C. W. Osenton.....	1
Mrs. Frank Mann.....	1
Philippine Islands, Grace E. Westerhouse (by proxy, Daniel C. Roper) .....	1
Total .....	55

## STATES VOTING FOR SAN FRANCISCO

California, Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	1
Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe.....	1
Colorado, John T. Barnett.....	1
Idaho, Robert H. Elder (by proxy, Joel L. Priest) .....	1
Mrs. Teresa M. Graham.....	1
Illinois, George E. Brennan.....	1
Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.....	1
Iowa, Clyde L. Herring.....	1
Kansas, Dudley Doolittle.....	1
Mrs. Florence G. Farley.....	1
Maine, D. J. McGillicuddy.....	1

Maryland, Howard Bruce.....	1
Massachusetts, Edward W. Quinn.....	1
Mrs. Nellie M. Sullivan.....	1
Michigan, William A. Comstock.....	1
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	1
Minnesota, Joseph Wolf.....	1
Miss Jessie Scott.....	1
Montana, J. Bruce Kremer.....	1
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill.....	1
Nebraska, Arthur F. Mullen.....	1
Dr. Jennie Callfas.....	1
Nevada, Samuel M. Pickett (by proxy, Justus Wardell).....	1
Mrs. Frances Friedhoff (by proxy, Key Pittman).....	1
New York, Norman E. Mack.....	1
North Dakota, R. B. Murphy.....	1
Ohio, Mrs. Bernice Pyke.....	1
Oregon, Will R. King.....	1
Mrs. Irene E. Stuart (by proxy, Mrs. E. P. King).....	1
Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Guffey.....	1
Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	1
Utah, James H. Moyle.....	1
Vermont, Frank H. Duffy.....	1
Washington, George F. Christensen.....	1
Mrs. E. D. Christian (by proxy, James J. Hoey).....	1
Wisconsin, John M. Callahan.....	1
Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	1
Wyoming, Patrick J. Quealy.....	1
Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair (by proxy, Mrs. Nellie T. Ross).....	1
Alaska, T. J. Donohoe (by proxy, Thomas Riggs).....	1
Mrs. John W. Troy (by proxy, George Brennan).....	1
District of Columbia, John F. Costello.....	1
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman.....	1
Hawaii, Mrs. L. L. McCandless (by proxy, Mrs. J. B. Harriman).....	1
Philippine Islands, Robt. E. Manly (by proxy, Ed N. Hurley).....	1
Porto Rico, Henry W. Dooley (by proxy, Thos. B. Lawler).....	1
Mrs. Isabel L. Horton (by proxy, Mrs. J. S. Whittemore).....	1
Canal Zone, Frank Hamlin.....	1
Mrs. L. O. Keen (by proxy, Mrs. John N. Blair).....	1
Total .....	48

THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Total vote cast, 103; necessary to a choice, 52. San Francisco, 48; Detroit, 1; Houston, 54. (Applause.)

ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER (of California): Mr. Chairman—

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Let us have order.

**MRS. CHARLES L. DONOHOE** (of California): Mr. Chairman, I move that the vote of this committee be made unanimous for Houston.

**NORMAN E. MACK** (of New York): I second the motion.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Houston having received a majority of the votes cast—

**ISIDORE B. DOCKWEILER** (of California): I am delighted; that is all. I also desire to move that the vote for Houston be made unanimous. (Applause.)

(The motion was numerously seconded.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Those in favor will signify by saying aye; opposed, no. The ayes have it and it is so ordered.

#### RECAPITULATION OF THE BALLOTS CAST FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION CITY

(This tabulation is made to show on one page the vote of each state in the five ballots cast. Abbreviations for the city voted for was necessary, and the following were used:)

Chi for Chicago.

Cle for Cleveland.

Det for Detroit.

H for Houston.

M for Miami.

SF for San Francisco.

#### B A L L O T S

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
<b>ALABAMA:</b>					
Walter Moore .....	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. Chas. J. Sharp.....	H	H	H	H	H
<b>ARIZONA:</b>					
W. L. Barnum.....	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. Theodora Marsh.....	H	H	H	H	H
<b>ARKANSAS:</b>					
Vincent M. Miles.....	H	H	H	H	H
Miss Alice Cordell.....	H	H	H	H	H
<b>CALIFORNIA:</b>					
Isidore B. Dockweiler.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. Chas. L. Donohoe.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
<b>COLORADO:</b>					
John T. Barnett.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
John T. Barnett, proxy.....	H	H	H	H	H
<b>CONNECTICUT:</b>					
Thomas J. Spellacy.....	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott.....	Cle	Cle	Det	Det	H
<b>DELAWARE:</b>					
Andrew C. Gray.....	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. John R. Eskridge.....	H	H	H	H	H

		B A L L O T S				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
<b>FLORIDA:</b>						
J. T. G. Crawford.....	M	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. L. K. M. Tanner.....	M	H	H	H	H	H
<b>GEORGIA:</b>						
John S. Cohen.....	M	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. Edgar Alexander.....	M	H	H	H	H	H
<b>IDAHO:</b>						
Joel L. Priest, proxy.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. T. M. Graham.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
<b>ILLINOIS:</b>						
George E. Brennan.....	Chi	Det	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.....	Chi	Cle	Cle	Cle	SF	SF
<b>INDIANA:</b>						
Chas. A. Greathouse.....	SF	H	H	H	H	H
A. C. Sallee, proxy.....	SF	H	H	H	H	H
<b>IOWA:</b>						
Clyde L. Herring.....	Det	Det	SF	SF	SF	SF
Geo. F. Milton, proxy.....	Det	Det	SF	H	H	H
<b>KANSAS:</b>						
Dudley Doolittle .....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. F. G. Farley.....	Cle	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
<b>KENTUCKY:</b>						
Urey Woodson .....	H	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. J. C. Cantrill.....	Cle	Cle	SF	H	H	H
<b>LOUISIANA:</b>						
Lee E. Thomas.....	H	H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson	H	H	H	H	H	H
<b>MAINE:</b>						
D. J. McGillicuddy.....	Cle	Det	Det	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. Wm. R. Pattangall.....	Cle	Cle	Cle	H	H	H
<b>MARYLAND:</b>						
Howard Bruce .....	Det	Det	Det	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. S. Johnson Poe.....	Det	Det	H	H	H	H
<b>MASSACHUSETTS:</b>						
Edward W. Quinn.....	SF	...	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. N. M. Sullivan.....	...	Cle	SF	SF	SF	SF
<b>MICHIGAN:</b>						
William A. Comstock.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	SF	SF
Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	SF	SF
<b>MINNESOTA:</b>						
Joseph Wolf .....	Chi	Det	SF	SF	SF	SF
Miss Jessie Scott.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

## B A L L O T S

1st      2nd      3rd      4th      5th

## MISSISSIPPI:

Henry Minor .....	H	H	H	H
Mrs. D. McL. Stevens.....	H	H	H	H

## MISSOURI:

Harry B. Hawes, proxy..... Det	Det	Det	H	H
Mrs. Emily N. Blair..... H	H	H	H	H

## MONTANA:

J. Bruce Kremer..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. J. S. M. Neill..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

## NEBRASKA:

Arthur F. Mullen..... Det	Det	SF	SF	SF
Dr. Jennie Callfas..... Det	Det	SF	SF	SF

## NEVADA:

Justus Wardell, proxy..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Key Pittman, proxy..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

## NEW HAMPSHIRE:

Robert Jackson, proxy..... Det	...	Det	Det	H
Mrs. D. B. Jackson..... Cle	Cle	Det	H	H

## NEW JERSEY:

Frank Hague .....	H	H	H	...
Mrs. J. J. Billington..... H	H	H	H	...

## NEW MEXICO:

Sam G. Bratton, proxy..... H	H	H	H	H
Mrs. A. A. Jones, proxy..... H	H	H	H	H

## NEW YORK:

Norman E. Mack..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Miss Elizabeth Marbury..... H	H	H	H	H

## NORTH CAROLINA:

Frank Hampton, proxy..... Cle	Cle	H	H	H
Mrs. Palmer Jerman, proxy... Cle	Cle	H	H	H

## NORTH DAKOTA:

R. B. Murphy..... Det	Cle	Det	SF	SF
Mrs. E. S. Johnson.....	...	...	...	...

## OHIO:

W. A. Julian..... Cle	Cle	Cle	Cle	H
Mrs. Bernice Pyke..... Cle	Cle	Cle	Cle	SF

## OKLAHOMA:

Scott Ferris .....	M	Cle	H	H
Mrs. D. A. McDougal..... M	H	H	H	H

## OREGON:

Will R. King..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF
Mrs. E. P. King, proxy..... SF	SF	SF	SF	SF

		B A L L O T S				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
<b>PENNSYLVANIA:</b>						
Joseph F. Guffey.....	Det	Det	Det	SF	SF	
Mrs. L. D. Bergey.....	Det	SF	SF	SF	SF	
<b>RHODE ISLAND:</b>						
Patrick H. Quinn.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	H	
Mrs. Jane A. Newton.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	H	
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA:</b>						
John G. Evans.....	SF	SF	H	H	H	
Mrs. Leroy Springs.....	H	SF	H	H	H	
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA:</b>						
W. W. Howes.....	Det	Det	Det	H	H	
Mrs. H. C. Snodgrass.....	...	...	...	...	...	
<b>TENNESSEE:</b>						
Cordell Hull .....	H	H	H	H	H	
Mrs. Elizabeth Bass, proxy...	H	H	H	H	H	
<b>TEXAS:</b>						
Jed Adams .....	H	H	H	H	H	
Thomas B. Love, proxy.....	H	H	H	H	H	
<b>UTAH:</b>						
James H. Moyle.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	
Mrs. Weston Vernon.....	Cle	H	H	H	H	
<b>VERMONT:</b>						
Frank H. Duffy.....	Det	H	Det	H	SF	
Miss A. D. Sullivan.....	...	...	...	...	...	
<b>VIRGINIA:</b>						
Carter Glass .....	H	H	H	H	H	
Carter Glass, proxy.....	H	H	H	H	H	
<b>WASHINGTON:</b>						
Geo. F. Christensen.....	SF	Det	SF	SF	SF	
James J. Hoey, proxy.....	Det	SF	SF	SF	SF	
<b>WEST VIRGINIA:</b>						
C. W. Osenton.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	H	
Mrs. Frank Mann.....	H	H	H	H	H	
<b>WISCONSIN:</b>						
John M. Callahan.....	Chi	Det	SF	SF	SF	
Mrs. Gertrude Bowler.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	SF	
<b>WYOMING:</b>						
Patrick J. Quealy.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	
Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, proxy	H	SF	SF	SF	SF	
<b>ALASKA:</b>						
Thomas Riggs, proxy.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	
George Brennan, proxy.....	SF	SF	SF	SF	SF	

		B A L L O T S				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:						
John F. Costello.....	Det	Det	Det	SF	SF	
Mrs. J. B. Harriman.....	...	Cle	SF	SF		
HAWAII:						
John H. Wilson.....	...	...	...	...	...	
Mrs. J. B. Harriman, proxy.....	...	Cle	SF	SF		
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS:						
Ed N. Hurley, proxy.....	Chi	SF	SF	SF	SF	
Dan C. Roper, proxy.....	SF	SF	SF	H	H	
PORTO RICO:						
Thomas B. Lawler, proxy.....	Det	Det	Det	Det	SF	
Mrs. J. S. Whittemore, proxy..	Det	Det	Det	Det	SF	
CANAL ZONE:						
Frank Hamlin .....	H	H	SF	SF	SF	
Mrs. John N. Blair, proxy.....	...	H	SF	SF		
TOTALS (As announced)	—	—	—	—	—	
Chicago .....	5	...	...	...	...	
Detroit .....	23	24	19	10	1	
Miami .....	6	...	...	...	...	
Cleveland .....	11	13	6	3	...	
Houston .....	30	37	43	48	55	
San Francisco .....	24	25	36	41	48	
Total .....	99	99	104	102	104	

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us have order. Will the gentlemen be seated. We will hear the report of the committee on resolutions.

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman, your committee on resolutions submits the following unanimous report:

"Resolved, That the chairman of the Democratic National Committee be and he is hereby authorized and directed to call a national convention of the Democratic Party for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President and a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, to promulgate a party platform, and take such other action as may be deemed advisable, to be held on the 26th day of June, 1928, at noon, in the city of Houston; and be it further

"Resolved, That the basis of representation at such national convention shall be two delegates with one vote each for each senator and representative in Congress from the respective states; and the District of Columbia, the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico,

Alaska and Canal Zone shall be entitled to six delegates each, and the Virgin Islands shall be entitled to two delegates; and be it further

"Resolved, That alternates be elected for each delegate.

"Resolved, That no state or territory shall elect any number of delegates, with their alternates, in excess of the quota to which such state or territory may be entitled under the basis of representation herein indicated; provided, however, that, in order that opportunity may be afforded the various states to give adequate representation to women as delegates-at-large without disturbing prevailing party custom, there may be elected four delegates-at-large for each senator in Congress with one-half vote each in the national convention; and further be it recommended to the states that one-half of the delegates-at-large shall be women.

"Resolved, That seating arrangements for correspondents of daily newspapers at the Democratic National Convention of 1928, including the assignment of seats, shall be under the direct control and supervision of the standing committee of the press gallery of Congress, in co-operation with the chairman of the Committee on Arrangements of the Democratic National Convention.

"Resolved, That the chairman of the Democratic National Committee be, and he is hereby authorized to designate a Committee on Arrangements for the Democratic National Convention of 1928, to consist of such number of members of the National Committee as the chairman shall deem advisable, with the chairman of the National Committee as chairman thereof.

"The chairman of the National Committee shall have full power to act in all matters pertaining to the arrangements for the national convention pending the first meeting of the Committee on Arrangements, and thereafter with the approval of the Committee on Arrangements, which is hereby clothed with such power in making arrangements for the national convention as may be necessary; and be it further

"Resolved, That the funds received from the Committee or representative representing the city selected as the place for the Democratic National Convention of 1928 be placed under the direction and control of the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and disbursed on his authority in conformity with the laws of the United States; and be it further

"Resolved, That as rigid economy is necessary in the conduct of the convention, no funds shall be disbursed by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee for traveling expenses or hotel bills for members of the Democratic National Committee attending the convention, but that a reasonable allowance shall be made for hotel expenses for the members of the Committee on

Arrangements during the period in which they are actually engaged in the work of such committee; and be it further

"Resolved, That the personnel of the convention, including assistant sergeants-at-arms, ushers, doorkeepers or other necessary officials shall be reduced to a minimum consistent with necessary service, and shall be made by appointment by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and that the compensation for such services shall be limited strictly to the business necessities of the situation and all disbursements therefor shall be made by the chairman or under his direction."

Now, Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Resolutions discussed all phases of the questions properly coming before the committee for its consideration, including such resolutions as were handed in by members of this committee. The committee, finally, and after mature deliberation, decided that they could really do no better than to reaffirm the provisions and resolutions which we adopted in 1924, after lengthy deliberations and painstaking consideration. So this, in substance and in essence, embraces the authority given and the plans and methods of arranging the mechanics of the convention of 1924.

I move, Mr. Chairman, that the report of the committee be adopted.

(The motion was duly seconded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion has been seconded.

MR. C. W. OSENTON (of West Virginia): Mr. Chairman, do I understand that that motion made under the rules of the committee is the same as any of the other resolutions subject to amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. C. W. OSENTON (of West Virginia): Very well. That clarifies it. I desire to offer an amendment at the proper time.

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): The time is now.

MR. THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): Now is the time.

MR. C. W. OSENTON (of West Virginia): I move you, sir, that we strike out the words and figures "June 26" and insert in lieu thereof "June 19," "Tuesday, June 19." I do not care to take up the time of the delegates and members in discussion, but that is in the interest of organization, in the interest of proper time that we may organize. I believe that a week earlier, I believe just one week after our Republican friends meet, would be better for our party, and I offer that amendment in view of the fact that I believe it will give us more time to organize this great party.  
(Applause.)

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hull.

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): I have great deference for the judgment of my distinguished friend from West Virginia. Frankly, however, this question has been thrashed out many times in the past. It has been demonstrated mathematically and physically and in other ways that unless the members of the press are to be placed at an awful disadvantage it is absolutely necessary to have as much as two weeks intervene between the time of the conventions, of the Republican convention and that of our convention.

Now, some of our states do not conclude their primaries until the first days of July, so that we could not consider preceding the date of the Republican convention, and since we are to follow it we would do the grossest injustice to the members of the press who must have a little time for recreation and for the transfer of their equipment from one place to the other.

I hope, therefore, that the amendment of the gentleman will not prevail.

MR. THOMAS J. SPELLACY (of Connecticut): It has not been seconded.

MR. JOHN S. COHEN (of Georgia): It has not been seconded.

MR. C. W. OSENTON (of West Virginia): I have high regard for Mr. Hull of Tennessee. I have listened to what he has to say. I think that an organization can not be perfected until the middle of August. Even a superman, Mr. Chairman, can not organize the Democrats before then.

I am not aware of any primary that is held later than the 26th day of May, as I recall. I may be in error. To satisfy my own judgment, regardless of what the members of this committee may think of it, I make this motion in good faith, and for the purpose stated. If you do not agree with me I will simply bow to what the majority thinks, of course.

MR. FRANK HAGUE (of New Jersey): Mr. Chairman, as a member of the resolutions committee, I want to enlighten my friend from West Virginia. We went into every phase of that. We discussed that question for two hours, as to the date of the convention, and find that it is literally impossible to change the date to an earlier day, and I think that it would be in keeping if you withdraw that resolution, because it is impossible on account of the press, and every other arrangement for us to decide on an earlier date. It is impossible.

MR. C. W. OSENTON (of West Virginia): In view of the statement of my friend from New Jersey and Judge Hull, although I would be very glad indeed to have the judgment of this committee, but I am from the mountains and I am an organized Democrat, and I still think that we should have more time for the purpose of

organization after the nomination and hurrying up a little bit after the nomination; but in view of the statements that have been made, I yield, reluctantly, and withdraw the motion.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee; but may I ask, for the benefit of all of us, if this report is adopted, will it be your ruling that no state shall have seats in the national convention in excess of the number mentioned in this report? I ask this because I was unfortunate enough to be connected with the seating arrangements of the hall.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you just restate that for the benefit of the chair?

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): It is simply this—

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): I would say, according to my understanding, that we can only formulate the rules that will provide for the selection of delegates to the next convention, and arrange for a temporary organization. When it comes to the question of passing on the title of the delegates or the particular number to be seated permanently in the convention, or the votes, or the fraction of a vote, which they may be allowed to cast, that is a matter exclusively within the power of the convention when it convenes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please state your question again. The chair, I think, did not get it.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): Mr. Chairman, I think that Judge Hull got my question exactly, and I understand his answer, I think, accurately, and for that reason I want to debate the report of his committee for just a moment. Their proposition in this respect is no different from that which has been adopted at least once before and no attention was paid to it by certain states.

Now, a resolution of this kind ought not to be put through as a warning to distant states from Houston. It ought not to be put through if it is going to be deviated from, if any states are going to be allowed to elect or send to the convention double the number of men and women to which they are entitled to vote, then all of us ought to understand that.

This thing was done four years ago, and it was violated in New York. I am not sure but that a resolution of this kind was passed eight years ago.

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia): Yes, it was, and violated in San Francisco.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): That is my recollection, Senator.

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia): And it ought not to be permitted to be violated any more.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): Rhode Island and Virginia are together on this. I am willing to vote for this and our state will submit to it, as we always have; but we do not want it to be understood that some particular states may come in and seat double the number to which they are entitled in this connection, and get seats, Mr. Chairman.

Just a minute, if you please. I do not exactly follow Judge Hull, and this is the first time in my life I have ever seemingly disagreed with him any place. I do not quite agree with him that this is beyond the ruling of this committee. It is true that a convention may do almost anything that a majority of the delegates see fit to do, but the convention is made up of delegates elected in pursuance of the action of this committee, and this committee is the Democratic Party when the convention is not in session, and delegates may only be elected in compliance with our decrees up to the time of the convention at Houston by reason of the action of this National Committee, and if delegates are elected contrary to the rules laid down today by this National Committee they are not delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, if you desire a statement from the chair, the chair is in favor of the resolution as it is understood, and—

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia, interposing): I think that the chairman ought to notify all state committees accordingly.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): That is a very good suggestion.

SENATOR CARTER GLASS (of Virginia): If they elect more delegates than is here prescribed by this resolution they will not be seated.

MR. PATRICK H. QUINN (of Rhode Island): They will have to shove up when they get there if they wish to be seated.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a good suggestion and the chair will certainly carry it out. Now, on the motion.

(The question was called for.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the adoption of the resolution, the motion of Chairman Hull.

(The question was put and the motion was agreed to.)

(The National Committee adopted resolutions on members of the committee who had died since the last meeting, as follows:)

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF MARTIN L. LUECK

"Resolved, By the Democratic National Committee now in session, that in the death of Honorable Martin L. Lueck, a member

of the National Democratic Committee from the state of Wisconsin, the committee has lost a true and sincere friend; the Democratic Committee has been deprived of the services of a man whose principles of democracy has endeared him to all his associates;

"Resolved, That we deplore the death of the late Martin L. Lueck of Wisconsin, and express our sympathy to his family and friends; and be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the meeting."

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF JOHN WALTER SMITH

"Resolved, Whereas, since the last meeting of the committee, death has taken one of the oldest of its members, a Democrat who had been active and prominent in the interests of his party and had served with distinction in the United States Senate and as governor of his state; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the committee deplores the death of the late John Walter Smith and expresses its sense of loss of his services as a member of the committee and extends its sympathy to his family and friends; and be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the meeting."

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF SAMUEL B. AMIDON

"Resolved, Whereas, death has claimed, since the former meeting of this committee, Samuel B. Amidon, a member from the state of Kansas and for many years vice-chairman of this committee, has passed from this life and that since he was for many years a prominent leader in the Democratic Party and in his state, and in the nation and rendered important services in various capacities; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the committee, that we deplore the death of the late Samuel B. Amidon and express our sense of loss and sympathy to his family and friends; and be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the meeting."

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF EDWIN H. MOORE

"Resolved, That in the death of Honorable Edwin H. Moore, a member of this committee from the state of Ohio, the Democratic Party has lost an active and capable leader; the country has been deprived of the services of a man of far-seeing wisdom, strict integrity, and more than ordinary capacities. We regret the death of Mr. Moore and express our sympathy; and be it further

"Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the meeting."

MR. CORDELL HULL (of Tennessee): I move that the committee do now adjourn to meet at the call of the chairman.

(The motion was duly seconded. The question was put and the motion was agreed to; and at 3:47 o'clock p. m. the committee adjourned.)

# Minutes of a Meeting of the Democratic National Committee

RICE HOTEL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
Monday, June 25, 1928,  
10 o'clock a. m.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Hon. Clem Shaver.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the call.

The secretary (Mr. Greathouse) read the call as follows:

"Washington, June 13, 1928.

"To the Members of the Democratic National Committee:

"A call is hereby issued for a meeting of the Democratic National Committee on the roof of the Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, Monday, June 25, 1928, at 10 o'clock, a. m.

(Signed) "CLEM SHAVER, Chairman."

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will call the roll. As we proceed with the call of the roll those who have proxies will please rise and make the necessary announcement.

The secretary called the roll as follows:

Alabama: Walter Moore. (Present.) Mrs. Charles J. Sharp. (Present.)

Arizona: W. L. Barnum. (Present by proxy, Dr. Clarence Gunter.) Mrs. Theodore Marsh. (Present by proxy, Dr. Clarence Gunter.)

Arkansas: Vincent M. Miles. (Present.) Miss Alice Cordell. (Present.)

California: Isidore B. Dockweiler. (Present.) Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe. (Present.)

Colorado: John T. Barnett. (Present.) Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee. (Present.)

Connecticut: Thomas J. Spellacy. (Present.) Mrs. Lillian S. Abbott. (Present by proxy, Michael L. Igoe.)

Delaware: Andrew C. Gray. (Present.) Mrs. John R. Eskridge. (Present by proxy, A. C. Gray.)

Florida: J. T. G. Crawford. (Present by proxy, Gilchrist B. Stockton.) Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner. (Present.)

Georgia: John S. Cohen. (Present.) Mrs. Edgar Alexander. (Present.)

Idaho: Robert H. Elder. (Present by proxy.) Mrs. Teresa M. Graham. (Present.)

- Illinois: George E. Brennan. (Present.) Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank.
- Indiana: Charles A. Greathouse. (Present.) Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs. (Present.)
- Iowa: Clyde L. Herring. (Present.) Mrs. Madge O'Neill. (Present by proxy, George F. Milton.)
- Kansas: Dudley Doolittle. (Present.) Mrs. Florence G. Farley. (Present.)
- Kentucky: Urey Woodson. (Present.) Mrs. J. C. Cantrill. (Present.)
- Louisiana: Lee Emmett Thomas. (Present.) Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson. (Present.)
- Maine: D. J. McGillicuddy. (Present.) Mrs. William R. Pattenball. (Present by proxy, Roy L. Fernald.)
- Maryland: Howard Bruce. (Present.) Mrs. S. Johnson Poe. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Elizabeth Menefee.)
- Massachusetts: Edward W. Quinn. (Present.) Mrs. Nellie M. Sullivan.
- Michigan: William A. Comstock. Mrs. Etta C. Boltwood.
- Minnesota: Joseph Wolf. (Present.) Miss Jessie Scott. (Present.)
- Mississippi: Henry Minor. (Present by proxy, Stone Deavours.) Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens. (Present.)
- Missouri: W. T. Kemper. (Present.) Mrs. Emily Newell Blair. (Present.)
- Montana: J. Bruce Kremer. (Present.) Mrs. J. S. M. Neill. (Present.)
- Nebraska: Arthur F. Mullen. (Present.) Dr. Jennie Callfas. (Present.)
- Nevada: Samuel M. Pickett. (Present.) Mrs. Frances Friedhoff.
- New Hampshire: Robert C. Murchie. (Present by proxy, Henri L. Ledoux.) Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson.
- New Jersey: Frank Hague. (Present.) Mrs. James J. Billington. (Present.)
- New Mexico: Arthur Seligman. (Present.) Mrs. Jennie Martin Kirby. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Antoinette Funk.)
- New York: Norman E. Mack. (Present.) Miss Elizabeth Marbury. (Present.)
- North Carolina: F. M. Simmons. (Present by proxy, Frank Hampton.) Miss Mary O. Graham. (Present by proxy, Mrs. T. Palmer Jerman.)
- North Dakota: R. B. Murphy. (Present.) Mrs. Esther S. Jackson.
- Ohio: W. A. Julian. Mrs. Bernice Pyke. (Present.)

Oklahoma: Scott Ferris. (Present.) Mrs. D. A. McDougal. (Present.)

Oregon: Will R. King. (Present.) Mrs. Irene E. Stuart. (Present by proxy, Kittie H. Graver.)

Pennsylvania: Joseph F. Guffey. (Present.) Mrs. Lillian D. Bergey. (Present.)

Rhode Island: Patrick H. Quinn. (Present.) Mrs. Jane A. Newton. (Present.)

South Carolina: John Gary Evans. (Present.) Mrs. Leroy Springs.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Springs has resigned and the state convention of South Carolina has elected to fill the unexpired term, as well as the full term, Mrs. L. H. Jennings. I therefore move that Mrs. Jennings be substituted for Mrs. Springs.

THE CHAIRMAN: The former member from South Carolina, Mrs. Springs, having resigned, and Mrs. L. H. Jennings having been elected to serve in her place, it has been moved that Mrs. Jennings be seated as a member of the committee.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to. Mrs. L. H. Jennings. (Present.)

South Dakota: W. W. Howes. (Present.) Mrs. H. C. Snodgrass. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Anna C. Struble.)

Tennessee: Cordell Hull. Mrs. Benton McMillin.

Texas: Jed Adams. (Present.) Mrs. J. T. Bloodworth. (Present.)

Utah: James H. Moyle. (Present.) Mrs. Weston Vernon.

MR. MOYLE: Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Vernon is not here, but her successor, Mrs. Inez K. Allen is here, and I suggest that she be seated in place of Mrs. Vernon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Mrs. Vernon a committeewoman or has she resigned?

MR. MOYLE: She has not resigned, but she is not here.

Vermont: Frank H. Duffy. (Present.) Miss Alice D. Sullivan.

Virginia: Carter Glass. (Present.) Mrs. Beverly B. Munford.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Munford has resigned and has declined re-election. At the state convention Mrs. Robert C. Watts was elected in her place. Mrs. Watts is present and I move that she be recognized to act as national committeewoman.

The motion was agreed to.

MR. MOYLE: Mr. Chairman, practically the same situation exists in Utah.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you elected a member for the present term or just for the new term?

MR. MOYLE: For the new term.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you elected a member for the old term which remains?

MR. MOYLE: I did not so understand.

SENATOR GLASS: Mrs. Munford has retired from the committee and Mrs. Watts was elected national committeewoman from Virginia and my motion was that she be recognized as national committeewoman.

MR. MOYLE: I submit it is practically the same case and I therefore move that Mrs. Allen sit in place of Mrs. Vernon.

MR. BRENNAN: That same condition exists in Illinois.

SENATOR GLASS: Undoubtedly, and under the rules of the committee that is in order. The committee says they may serve until the end of the next convention unless otherwise provided.

MR. BRENNAN: Mrs. Elizabeth A. Conkey is in exactly the same position with respect to Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN: The state of Utah and the state of Illinois will be included in the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

Washington: George F. Christensen. (Present.) Mrs. E. D. Christian.

West Virginia: C. W. Osenton. (Present.) Mrs. Frank Mann. (Present.)

Wisconsin: John M. Callahan. (Present.) Mrs. Gertrude Bowler. (Present.)

Wyoming: Patrick J. Quealy. (Present.) Mrs. Burke H. Sinclair. (Present by proxy, Mrs. J. C. Mahoney.)

Alaska: T. J. Donohoe. (Present by proxy, Simon Hellenthal.) Mrs. John W. Troy. (Present by proxy, James J. Connors.)

District of Columbia: John F. Costello. (Present.) Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. (Present.)

Hawaii: John H. Wilson. (Present.) Mrs. L. L. McCandless. (Present.)

Philippine Islands: Robert E. Manly. (Present.) Mrs. Grace H. Westerhouse. (Present.)

Porto Rico: Henry W. Dooley. (Present.) Mrs. Isabel Lock Horton. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Jean Springstead Whittemore.)

Canal Zone: Frank T. Hamlin. Mrs. L. O. Keen. (Present.) This completes the roll call, Mr. Chairman.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order will be the report from the Committee on Arrangements by Mr. Scott Ferris.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, I move that the following list be accepted by the National Committee as temporary officers of the convention:

Chairman, Claude G. Bowers of New York.  
Secretary, Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana.  
Executive secretary, Richard T. Buchanan, District of Columbia.

Tally clerk, Kenneth Romney.

Reading clerk, P. J. Haltigan, District of Columbia.

Parliamentarian, Clarence Cannon, Missouri.

Sergeant-at-Arms, Edwin A. Halsey of Virginia.

Chief doorkeeper, E. Lee Barnes of Alabama.

Official reporter, Miss Jessie Scott of Minnesota.

And, Mr. Chairman, I move, as an addition to this motion, that the chairman of the committee have the power to name the minor officers. They are too many to delineate.

The motion was agreed to.

#### HOUR OF MEETING

MR. BRENNAN: Mr. Chairman, representing in part the great corn belt of this country, I want to say to you that that section of the country is looking for the relief that was denied it at the Republican convention. To further put them in the hole, they selected as their standard-bearer the arch enemy of the farmer, Herbert Hoover. I say that the people of the neighborhood which I, in part, represent, are looking with longing eyes to the action of this convention. (Applause.)

As this convention, in my opinion, is going to be different, and as we have lots of time—we had three weeks at Madison Square and it looks as if we will only need three days here—I move you that the calling of the convention be postponed until eight o'clock tonight, so that the keynoter may be heard over the radio by the people who will have returned home from their daily labors at that time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course, the speech of our distinguished temporary chairman has gone to the country and to the press. I would like to ask some of the newspaper men present how that would affect the printing of that speech in the afternoon.

MR. BRENNAN: Notice of this action will be tantamount to a notification to the Associated Press and to newspapers generally, and they never violate a confidence of that kind and they will hold it until after the speech is delivered.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would want to be sure about that. I want to say very frankly that the chair has considerable sympathy with this motion, especially if the heat here this afternoon is a sample of what we may expect in the middle of the day. The radio matter is also a matter of importance. I think we would like to hear expressions from the members of the committee, as this is a new

matter. We have fixed the hour at twelve o'clock, but the chair has no objection whatever to the change.

MR. GREATHOUSE: Will that interfere with the call that has gone out?

MR. BRENNAN: We can recommend this and the delegates, I assume, are all of the same mind. We want victory and we are expecting victory to come through the persons whom we are trying to reach by the keynote speech.

MR. WOODSON: May I suggest, Mr. Brennan, that in order for the people on the farms in the west to get the benefit of this change that the hour be made seven o'clock p. m. instead of eight p. m.?

MR. BRENNAN: I will accept that.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, we can not fix an hour that will suit every state. I am in favor of a motion of this kind, but is it necessary, to accomplish the gentleman's purpose, that we delay the opening of the convention until tomorrow night? If you do, you will not reach the keynote speech possibly until most people have gone to bed. Is there not something that may be done starting tomorrow at twelve o'clock? Can you not get the committees at work and then, if necessary, adjourn until eight o'clock or seven o'clock at night to have the keynote speech?

MR. BRENNAN: I will change my motion to include that, Mr. Chairman. I move, sir, that this committee recommend to the delegates who assemble at twelve o'clock that it is the consensus of opinion that the detailed work should be completed and the keynote speech, through a recess, be heard at seven o'clock Tuesday night.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, I second the motion as amended.

MR. BRENNAN: I would like to ask the people from the Pacific Coast if seven o'clock would be too early.

MR. KING: Make it eight o'clock.

MR. MOYLE: It would be nine o'clock on the coast.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have on this committee a most distinguished parliamentarian and a man of much experience with respect to conventions. The general purpose of the motion seems to be approved of, and it is a question of working out the details. There is the question of the afternoon papers, the question of the radio, the question of breaking up the routine of the convention, and several other incidental matters, and I would like for the Honorable Carter Glass to make a statement about it.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know that my view on the matter is worth more than that of any other member of the committee. The chairman called me to the stand here to ask me my opinion, and my opinion very distinctly is that you will

have more publicity by the publication and wide circulation in the afternoon press of this country of the keynote speech than you will get by your radio, because my experience with the radio is that you have what is known as static, and what that is nobody knows except that it is a nuisance that breaks in and prevents you from hearing.

It is my judgment, as a newspaper publisher, that you will get vastly more publicity for the keynote speech by letting it be printed by the afternoon press of the country as soon as delivered than you will get over the radio. But if this be not agreeable to all members of the committee, if this does not commend itself to the judgment of the committee, it is my belief you have enough preliminary work at the convention upon its convening at noon, to occupy perhaps two hours of the time, in calling the roll of each state for the presentation of their members of the various committees, the Committee on Credentials, the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Platform, and these committees should be announced early in order that they may get to work with their preliminaries, and particularly is it desirable that this shall be done with respect to the Committee on Resolutions, whose deliberations may be prolonged. In either event, I think we ought to meet at noon so as to expedite the work of this convention and let the people get back to their homes.

MR. BRENNAN: Mr. Chairman, I have withdrawn my first motion, and my last motion contemplates just what the senator has said, namely, to take care of all the details and then postpone the keynote speech until the evening session.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the motion in the nature of a recommendation?

MR. BRENNAN: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The recommendation of the committee is that this be done and then it will be up to the convention to take action.

MR. BRENNAN: The motion is that this committee recommends to the national convention that the convention select the committees, do the general detailed work and then adjourn until eight o'clock, in order that the keynote speech may be given out through the radio to the expectant multitudes of this country who are looking for relief from this convention. (Applause.)

MR. BARNETT: Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest that we meet at seven o'clock or seven-thirty o'clock, because if we meet at eight o'clock, it will be eight-thirty or nine o'clock before we get settled down, and there is a difference of two hours between the time at this point and the coast, and you may defeat the object of the motion if you do not meet early and settle down so that you can start promptly at eight o'clock.

MR. BRENNAN: Well, I will make it "promptly" at eight o'clock.

MR. BARNETT: You would better call your meeting at seven-thirty o'clock. I am thinking of the difference in time.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is one other matter to be considered. This is a recommendation to the convention, but you may want to consult the distinguished temporary chairman, because he may have some preference in the matter.

MR. HAGUE: As I understand, the motion is to meet at eight o'clock at night?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. HAGUE: If we meet at eight o'clock, Mr. Chairman, that will be ten o'clock in New York and in New Jersey and in all the eastern states where they have daylight saving. If we are to convene at eight o'clock, we will probably get together at nine o'clock and that would be eleven o'clock in the East and we would get absolutely no results in the East at all. I think seven or seven-thirty o'clock would be better for the East and that is where we are going to get our votes this time, and let us at least give them the privilege of listening in.

MR. DOOLITTLE: Mr. Chairman, I offer as a substitute, a motion to make it seven-thirty o'clock.

MR. BRENNAN: I accept seven-thirty, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: As the motion now stands, the gentleman from Illinois accepts seven-thirty and the motion is in the nature of a recommendation.

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, why is it necessary to debate this matter? It is only a recommendation anyway. I am in favor of the motion.

MR. DOCKWEILER: Mr. Chairman, there has been so much confusion and noise and talk here that we have not heard the motion. What is the motion that is pending, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that the convention, upon convening at twelve o'clock, install the temporary chairman and the other officers, appoint the important committees and recess until seven-thirty, for the purpose of hearing the keynote speech at that time.

MR. DOCKWEILER: I move then that the recommendation be to recess until seven o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is another matter that may come up. I do not know how the tickets are arranged.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, there are at least two amendments. Mr. Woodson of Kentucky offered an amendment that it be seven o'clock and his amendment was seconded by at least four members right here. There are really three questions before the

house, eight o'clock, seven o'clock and seven-thirty o'clock. I think we ought to vote upon the matter and vote for Kentucky's proposition making it seven o'clock. (Applause.) That is fair to all sides.

MR. BRENNAN: That is all right with me. I will accept seven o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention must decide the question anyway and I really think the distinguished temporary chairman ought to be consulted about it.

MR. DEAVOURS: Mr. Chairman, is not that dividing the session into two sections and is not that going to cause a good deal of confusion about the tickets?

THE CHAIRMAN: We will have to look into that.

The question is on agreeing to the motion, as accepted by the gentleman from Illinois, making the time seven o'clock.

The motion was agreed to.

MR. DOOLITTLE: Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. What was the hour just decided upon?

THE CHAIRMAN: Seven o'clock.

#### TEMPORARY ROLL OF DELEGATES

THE CHAIRMAN: We are up to the place where we need to make up a temporary roll of delegates for this convention. There are two or three very minor controversies. In the main there are no controversies or protests, so far as I know. The secretary will read the roll of states.

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, I move that the secretary proceed to call the roll of states and that the committeeman announce the list of each state except those states in which there is a contest and that the list be made the temporary roll of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand the motion of the gentleman does not require the reading of all the names unless there is some question about it.

MR. MULLEN: No.

The motion was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the list of states.

(The secretary read the list of states as follows:)

Alabama—No contest.

Arizona—No contest.

Arkansas—No contest.

California—No contest.

Colorado—No contest.

Connecticut—No contest.

Delaware—No contest.

Florida—No contest.

Georgia—No contest.

Idaho—No contest.

Illinois—No contest.

Indiana—No contest.

Iowa—No contest.

Kansas.

MR. DOOLITTLE: Mr. Chairman, pass Kansas for this call.

Kentucky—No contest.

Louisiana.

MRS. THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, Louisiana has a contest. I am at a loss to know how to proceed, Mr. Chairman. Do I wait for the report of the sub-committee? We appeared before the sub-committee yesterday, and I would like to know whether we are to wait on the report of the sub-committee or present our protest direct to the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have made your statement and that is all that is necessary now.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, as a member of the sub-committee that had to do with these protests, one of them might be rather voluminous and I suggest that we pass that to the end of the roll call and then return to it.

MRS. THOMSON: Is that our contest?

MR. FERRIS: That is yours, yes.

Maine—No contest.

Maryland—No contest.

Massachusetts—No contest.

Michigan—No contest.

Minnesota—No contest.

Mississippi—No contest.

Missouri—No contest.

Montana—No contest.

Nebraska—No contest.

Nevada—No contest.

New Hampshire—No contest.

New Mexico—No contest.

New York—No contest.

North Carolina—No contest.

North Dakota—No contest.

Ohio—No contest.

Oklahoma—No contest.

Oregon—No contest.

Pennsylvania.

A MEMBER: I am advised, Mr. Chairman, through the press, that there are three contests in Pennsylvania.

Rhode Island—No contest.  
South Carolina—No contest.  
Tennessee—No contest.  
Texas—No contest.  
Utah—No contest.  
Vermont—No contest.  
Virginia—No contest.  
Washington—No contest.  
West Virginia.

A MEMBER: Mr. Chairman, there was a contest in West Virginia, which contest has been withdrawn in the interest of harmony in the Democratic Party. (Applause.)

Wisconsin:

A MEMBER: The national committeewoman has a contest from Wisconsin.

Alaska—No contest.

District of Columbia:

MR. COSTELLO: There is a contest from the District of Columbia.

Hawaii—No contest.

The Philippine Islands—No contest.

Porto Rico—No contest.

The Canal Zone.

MRS. KEEN: A contest from the Canal Zone.

Virgin Islands:

MR. STOCKTON: Mr. Chairman, I protest the inclusion of two delegates with votes from the Virgin Islands in the temporary roll to be submitted to the convention, on the ground that the National Committee acted ultra vires. It had no authority to give two delegates to the Virgin Islands, and I will read the call of the convention or the instructions that were given to the National Committee. This resolution was passed by the 1924 convention:

"Resolved, That the National Democratic Committee is hereby empowered and directed to fix the time and place for holding the next national convention and that representation therein be strictly limited in the matter of delegates."

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman is proceeding out of order because we are just calling the roll of states to ascertain in what states there are contests and then to take up the various contests.

MR. STOCKTON: May I speak on the point of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. STOCKTON: This is filing a contest now. This was not placed before the sub-committee. It seems to me this is in order

at this time in order that it may be placed before the committee as a contest, and it can be considered later.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, in the interest of good order and good procedure, so that we may get this straight in the record, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's motion be included as a contest and disposed of at the end of the roll call.

MR. STOCKTON: This is the end of the roll call.

MR. FERRIS: At the end of the roll call of contests that have had a regular hearing.

MR. STOCKTON: I consent to that. If this is accepted by the National Committee as a formal filing of protest, I will be glad to yield the floor.

MR. FERRIS: I do not want to add any dignity to this protest or take any away from it. I merely ask that it have consideration at the end of the contests that have been regularly filed and regularly considered.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, that is all the gentleman is asking.

MR. STOCKTON: Thank you.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, I move that the roll call of delegates as just read by the secretary, with the exception of those instances where contests have been filed, including the case of the Virgin Islands, be made the temporary roll of the convention.

The motion was agreed to.

#### CONTESTS

THE CHAIRMAN: A sub-committee has been looking into the various contests and I will ask Mr. Bruce Kremer of Montana to make a statement to the committee.

MR. KREMER: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the chairman appointed a sub-committee in order to expedite the work in connection with contests. This sub-committee consisted of Mr. Frank Hampton, acting as proxy for Senator Simmons, Mr. Dooley of Porto Rico, Mrs. McDougal, Mr. Scott Ferris and myself.

The committee met and considered four contests, one from the Canal Zone, one from the District of Columbia, and we are classifying the Pennsylvania contest as one, although it involves two delegates, one from the first district and one from the fifth district. Upon these three contests the committee was able to make a report.

A fourth contest involved the state of Louisiana. It was considered and discussed and it was the judgment of the sub-committee that the Louisiana contest be reported back to this committee as a whole. I might say that this vote of the sub-committee was unanimous.

First of all I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, your view as to whether a brief statement should be made to you in connection with these various contests or whether we should simply report our findings. Do you desire me to make a brief statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it would be helpful if you would make such a statement.

MR. KREMER: In connection with the Canal Zone matter, a question arose over the calling of a convention in the Canal Zone. Your committee found the facts to be that Mr. Hamlin, the national committeeman, while in the States, cabled to Mrs. Keen, the national committeewoman, requesting that she join with him in calling a convention for the twentieth day of May. A cablegram was sent by Mrs. Keen to Mr. Hamlin consenting to that date.

It had been the custom and the practice, as we found, in the Canal Zone for both the national committeeman and the national committeewoman to join in the call for a convention. It was our judgment that the passing of these cablegrams constituted an agreement. The cablegram of Mrs. Keen was supplemented by a letter in which she expressed her acquiescence in the date. Later, Mr. Hamlin returned to the Canal Zone and a convention was called by him for the nineteenth of May. Mrs. Keen's convention was called for the twentieth of May, and by reason of this fact we felt that the Keen convention had been called in accordance with the agreement and in accordance with the custom. I might digress briefly to say that there were two characters of registration, one group appearing in the convention of May 19, and the other appearing in the convention of May 20. This, your committee felt, was a matter that was only incidental, by reason of the fact that in accordance with the custom there was an agreement between the national committeeman and the national committeewoman and we recognized the convention of May 20. I do not care to enter into any further detail unless some one desires it.

MR. BRENNAN: Did the sub-committee concur in that view?

MR. KREMER: The committee concurred by a vote of 4 to 1.

MR. EVANS: What was Mr. Hamlin's contention?

MR. KREMER: Mr. Hamlin's contention was that in the Canal Zone there is an organization known as the Panama Democratic Club, and that the Democratic club had a registration and that the club itself could designate, in effect, the date of the holding of the convention, and he changed the date by reason of the fact that the club desired this done, and he and Mrs. Keen could not agree.

MR. EVANS: Is not the organization greater than the two members of the committee?

MR. KREMER: The custom has been that the national committeeman and the national committeewoman agree. In 1924 the Canal Zone for the first time had representation upon this committee and in 1924 both the national committeeman and the national committeewoman agreed to the fixing of a convention and that was the precedent by which we proceeded.

MR. EVANS: There was no rule from the organization on the matter at all?

MR. KREMER: Not until the twelfth day of May was there a rule promulgated and that was after both of these conventions had been called. Then the rules of the Democratic Club in Panama were promulgated and reduced to writing.

MR. EVANS: Did the club elect the committeeman?

MR. KREMER: No.

MR. EVANS: Who elected him?

MR. KREMER: The delegation had elected him.

MR. HAMLIN: Mr. Kremer, you are mistaken about that, sir.

MR. KREMER: I simply intended to state the findings of the committee and I do not desire to discuss any question about the facts.

MR. MULLEN: What is the recommendation of the committee?

MR. KREMER: The committee recommends that the delegates named on page 39 of the printed record consisting of Mrs. L. O. Keen, Louis Townsley, R. H. O'Brien, Gus Eisenmann, T. Aanstoos and J. R. Stapler, with their respective alternates, be seated.

MR. SPELLACY: I move that the report of the committee be accepted and that the delegates mentioned in the report be seated.

The motion was duly seconded.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognized Mr. Frank A. Hampton of North Carolina, speaking as a member of the sub-committee.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, as a member of the committee who disagreed with the majority report, I desire to add one or two facts to the recital of Mr. Kremer. The evidence of Mr. Hamlin and the admission of Mrs. Keen showed clearly that there is only one Democratic organization in the Canal Zone, to wit, the Panama Democratic Club. It functions there as the Democratic state committees function in the States. They never have had a Democratic state committee in the Canal Zone, but they have this Panama Democratic Club, whose jurisdiction has been recognized by two Democratic national conventions and by the Democratic National Committee throughout its life of fourteen years, beginning, however, with its representation in the national convention of 1920.

The committee had before it a cablegram from the chairman of

the Panama Democratic Club, who is also the chairman of the executive committee of the club, stating flatly that the delegation headed by Mr. Hamlin was the regularly elected Democratic delegation from the Canal Zone; that the Democratic state convention held on the nineteenth of May at the call of Mr. Hamlin was the regularly called Democratic State Convention of the Canal Zone.

My vote for seating the delegation headed by Mr. Hamlin was based upon the fact that the only existing Democratic organization in the Canal Zone, the organization that has heretofore been uniformly recognized by the Democratic National Convention and the Democratic National Committee, declared in a cablegram to the chairman of the national committee that Mr. Hamlin's convention was the regularly constituted Democratic convention of the Canal Zone and that the delegation headed by him is the duly and regularly elected Democratic delegation from the Canal Zone.

I think it will be universally admitted that the Democratic national committeeman and the Democratic national committeewoman have no inherent power to call a Democratic state convention anywhere except by the chairman of the Democratic state committees or by the organizations which function in lieu thereof, as the Panama Democratic Club functions in lieu of a Democratic state committee in the Panama Canal.

I know of no authority for calling a Democratic state convention anywhere except by the chairman of the Democratic state committee or the chairman of the local organization that functions in lieu thereof. As a matter of fact, one state convention was called by the Democratic national committeewoman and one was called by the Democratic national committeeman. Both, therefore, I regard as irregular, but we are faced with the task of choosing one or the other of the delegations and therefore I favor the choosing of that delegation which the regular Democratic organization, the regularly recognized Democratic organization of the Canal Zone says is the regular Democratic delegation elected by the regular Democratic state convention. I say this in explanation of my vote against the majority report.

MR. STOCKTON: May I ask the gentleman some questions? How many members has the Democratic Club of Panama?

MR. HAMPTON: I have not all the details, but you have here the Democratic national committeeman who can give you that information.

MRS. KEEN: Mr. Chairman, may I have the floor?

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has recognized the gentleman from Florida.

MR. STOCKTON: I will be very glad to yield in a moment, but I

want to get this matter correct if I may. How many members are there of the Democratic club of Panama?

MR. HAMLIN: The Democratic club has 165 members and the registration by the organization was a little less than 1,000.

MR. STOCKTON: How many were voted?

MR. HAMLIN: 763.

MR. STOCKTON: In your convention?

MR. HAMLIN: Yes.

MR. STOCKTON: In other words, this call went out from 165 Democrats and got 760 out to vote?

MR. HAMLIN: 763.

MR. STOCKTON: What was the highest vote obtained by any gentleman that was elected?

MR. HAMLIN: There was a delegation or a convention of 35 delegates and there were five districts and there are election precincts in each of these districts.

MR. STOCKTON: That is a little too much detail. I do not think we care about all that detail.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, may I ask who it is that is putting these questions to the Democratic national committeeman from the Canal Zone?

MR. STOCKTON: A member of the national committee. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, the national committeewoman from the Panama Canal Zone how many votes were cast in that election?

MRS. KEEN: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that we feel we can substantiate every claim and every demand we have made. I am the national committeewoman from the Canal Zone, and I would like to say that we might have had as many votes as the city of New York had we passed out blanks and taken the poll to the voters with the instructions "Fill this out and do not say anything about it." Our convention was conducted in an open and above-board way with a fair show to every Democrat, not just some chosen few, and it was not dictated, ladies and gentlemen, by any resident of Panama who derives his livelihood from South America.

Another thing, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say is that we did not send one of our emissaries with our vote to the private room of one of these individuals and have him count them. Had we taken our vote in the privacy that our opponents followed, we could have had as many votes as the state of Texas or the city of New York, and, ladies and gentlemen, I want you to know that there was a set of application blanks printed and delivered to Mr. Hamlin after their convention was held, on May twenty-first, and if there is any other phase of the matter you would like me to

go into in detail, we have facts to substantiate all that we have said here.

MR. STOCKTON: May I interrupt to ask you to give the total vote cast?

MRS. KEEN: 398, and it was an open convention, nothing behind closed doors. We were open and above-board about everything. (Applause.)

MR. HAMLIN: Mr. Chairman, the newspapers stated, and it was not denied by any one, that the number of votes cast at the convention held by Mrs. Keen was 232, and this is the first time I have ever heard there were more votes cast in the convention. I do not by any means admit most of the statements Mrs. Keen has made. She has nothing whatever to substantiate the statements she has made. She can get up here and make any statement and it goes unless she can prove it, but she has not got the proof.

As to the registration, Mrs. Keen had knowledge as early as the latter part of December, 1927, that the regular Democratic organization of the Canal Zone, namely, the Panama Democratic Club, was taking steps to register the Democrats of the Canal Zone. It was published in the newspapers, the Star and the Herald, of date December 18, 1927.

In every state, territory and district, the local Democratic organization has the right to call a convention. We have an organization that has been recognized for years. We have contributed to the national campaign fund, and that is the way the Canal Zone secured its recognition. I may say that the faction consisting of 232 members has never done anything, with one possible exception. With one possible exception, they have never contributed anything to the Democratic Party in a financial way. In 1920—

MR. MULLEN (interposing): Mr. Chairman, I want to ask a question of the speaker. Did you agree with Mrs. Keen to call this convention on the twentieth day of May, when this cablegram passed between you?

MR. HAMLIN: I wrote to Mrs. Keen suggesting that the date be set as the twentieth.

MR. MULLEN: And she wired back and said she would agree to that date?

MR. HAMLIN: That whatever I did would be agreeable to her. Her letter shows that.

MR. MULLEN: Did she say she would agree to the twentieth?

MR. HAMLIN: She wrote back that it would be agreeable. I mean she cabled back and she then wrote a letter saying that whatever I decided would be agreeable to her. I decided to go to the Canal Zone and I wired Mrs. Keen and no one else and told her

when I would arrive in the Canal Zone. I was sailing from New Orleans on the fifth. Mrs. Keen was the only one on the Canal Zone that had that information. Mrs. Keen, after I had gotten on the boat, undertook to appoint a committee of her own selection to register the Democrats of the Canal Zone, notwithstanding the fact that she had absolute knowledge that the organization, which has been in existence for years, was at that time registering the Democrats, and if she had inquired she could have found out that at that time they had 500 or 600 Democrats already registered. She says they could not get registration blanks. There is absolutely no foundation for such a statement. I investigated that and I found that one young man at the Balboa shops asked some one who had taken the trouble to get some registration blanks for one of the forms, and he did not have any to give him and told him to go and get his own, which he should have done. They were not denied to anybody.

In 1920 we held a convention under the auspices of the Panama Democratic Club, in 1924 we held another, and in 1928 we held a third. At all times the Panama Democratic Club has sponsored the holding of the convention. Mrs. Keen was unwilling to join with me in what the organization wanted done. The organization wanted the convention held on the nineteenth and it was called accordingly. I did urge Mrs. Keen to join me in using every effort to avoid a split in the Canal Zone; in other words, for all of us to meet under one roof. Yesterday I read a letter before the sub-committee in which I stated I had taken the matter up with the other faction and I believed they were agreeable to accepting both registration lists, permitting each faction to put all the names they wanted on the official ballot and give equal representation in every other way.

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question.

MR. HAMLIN: Mr. Chairman, I have not finished. I may say that if the regular organization is not to be recognized at this convention, then there is no use to hold this convention.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, I raise a point of order. The sub-committee has knowledge which leads them to believe that this contest will go on indefinitely unless some time is fixed for this hearing. I happen to know that the other side will want to be heard. I move you, sir, as a member of the sub-committee, that some time be fixed, if there is to be a further hearing, and let us cut this off at some point.

THE CHAIRMAN: All the parties present here have the privilege of appealing to the Committee on Credentials. This committee can not consume all day on these items, and anyone who has

a grievance on account of the action of this committee has the right to go to the Committee on Credentials.

MR. EVANS: But that does not bar their right to be heard before this committee.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the sub-committee be adopted, and on that I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on agreeing to the report of the sub-committee.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Chairman, have not these people the right to be heard? You have given them the floor. Are they to be knocked off the floor before we have a true statement from either side?

THE CHAIRMAN: Both sides have been represented.

MR. EVANS: I understood Mr. Hamlin had not finished his statement. I want to know the facts. I do not know what passed before the committee. This man is entitled to a hearing in order to present his case, and he is now taken off his feet while he is giving the facts.

THE CHAIRMAN: He has the Committee on Credentials, which is really the proper place for the matter to go.

MR. EVANS: This is the proper place to hear this report from the committee appointed by the chair. The report ought to be considered in a way that is fair to the members who are not members of that sub-committee. I am not a member of that sub-committee and I do not know about the evidence that was presented to them. We are entitled to have the evidence in order to vote intelligently, and it does not make any difference what their rights may be after this committee has passed on the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the gentleman desire to go on?

MR. HAMLIN: I have one more statement I would like to make, particularly, in answer to the statement that Mr. Kremer, the chairman of the committee, made that the rules had been published after both calls had been issued. That is incorrect. Mrs. Keen issued her call. Those rules were finally issued on the twelfth, and Mrs. Keen's call was issued on the fifteenth or sixteenth, after those rules were made and published in both newspapers and given out to the organization. They were written rules, this time, but before that the organization had always directed it in the same way that it did this time, the only difference being that we did not have people who had never belonged to the organization to interfere, and it was not necessary to do it. We always had order until we got some people who had never taken any interest in the organization, who then interfered. They have a perfect right to come into the organization, but now they are opposing the only organization we have ever had. What right

has Mrs. Keen to call a convention? Where does she get her authority? Does she get it from the organization? If so, why did she not listen to what the organization wanted? If not, what authority did she have? I will not take any more time, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion to adopt the report of the sub-committee.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, I move as a substitute for the motion to adopt the report, that both of these delegations be seated and put on the temporary roll with one-half vote each.

MR. BRENNAN: Mr. Chairman, I move to lay that motion on the table.

MR. STOCKTON: I second that motion.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I move that the substitute motion be laid on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Hampton) restate his substitute motion?

MR. HAMPTON: I move, Mr. Chairman, as a substitute for the motion to adopt the majority report, that both delegations be placed upon the temporary roll with one-half vote each.

MR. DOOLEY: Mr. Chairman, I move that the substitute be laid on the table and call for a vote.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Would not a motion to table the substitute also table the original motion?

MR. SPELLACY: The motion is to table the substitute motion.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, if that motion is adopted, you lay the whole thing on the table, under ordinary parliamentary practice. If you put the motion to table the substitute, if that is adopted, it tables the whole thing, under parliamentary practice.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is true.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, very many times when these contests arise we have no documentary evidence that gives us the facts we really want to know. I have four cablegrams here that passed between these two parties that will let this committee have the information they want and I ask unanimous consent for three or four minutes to give the committee the information which I think they require.

MR. HAMPTON: I object, unless you also include the reading of the cablegrams from the president of the Panama Democratic Club.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, we can not pursue the matter in this way. The previous question has already been put and ordered and what we have got to do now is to vote first upon the substitute of the gentleman from North Carolina that the two delegations be listed with one-half vote each. If that is voted

down then the next order of business is to vote on the report of the majority. (Applause.)

MR. FERRIS: I withdraw my request, Mr. Chairman. Of course, we can do anything by unanimous consent, but I withdraw the request.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from North Carolina, which is offered as a substitute for the original motion, that both delegations be placed on the temporary roll with one-half vote each.

MR. HAMPTON: Mr. Chairman, I demand a roll call.

THE CHAIRMAN: A roll call is demanded.

MR. HAMPTON: I withdraw the request, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HAMLIN: I demand a roll call, Mr. Chairman. I want a record made of this matter.

MR. SPELLACY: It is too late to ask for a roll call after the vote is taken.

MR. HAMLIN: This thing is going to come up to haunt somebody and I want a record made of it. I want to know who it is that is doing this. Somebody will find out before we are through who is back of it and how it is all being manipulated.

MRS. KEEN: Mr. Chairman, I agree with Mr. Hamlin that it is eminently proper that there should be a record made of this. I agree that it will be determined who is at the bottom of these things.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will call the roll of states.

MR. SPELLACY: As I understand it, those who are in favor of accepting the report of the sub-committee will vote no on this motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: And those in favor of the substitute will vote aye.

MR. FERRIS: Mr. Chairman, may we have the question again stated so that it will be clear?

THE CHAIRMAN: This is a roll call vote on the substitute motion and a vote of aye means that the delegates go on the temporary roll with one-half vote each; that is, both delegations.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, let us state the question simply. Those who vote aye are in favor of the substitute motion and those who vote no are not.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is correct. The secretary will call the roll.

The roll was called and there were 75 noes and 14 ayes.

So the motion was rejected.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I renew my motion to accept the report of the sub-committee.

MR. HAMLIN: Mr. Chairman, I ask for a roll call on this vote.  
(Cries of "No, no.")

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is a member of the committee and has the right to submit his request.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that it takes one-fifth of the membership of the committee to order the yeas and nays. We are proceeding under the parliamentary rules of the House of Representatives.

MR. HAMLIN: Mr. Chairman, if I may have the floor a moment, we have quite a different question to vote on now from what we had a moment ago.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is on the question of adopting the committee report.

MR. HAMLIN: And I demand a roll call.

MR. STOCKTON: Mr. Chairman, I desire to propound a parliamentary inquiry. Under what rules of order does this committee operate?

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the rules of the House of Representatives, as far as applicable.

MR. SPELLACY: And I submit, Mr. Chairman, it requires one-fifth of those present to demand the yeas and nays.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those desiring a roll call on this motion will rise and stand until counted. (After a pause.) Ten members have risen, not a sufficient number.

So the yeas and nays were refused.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the original motion to adopt the report of the committee, which question is now debatable.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONTEST

MR. KREMER: Mr. Chairman, we also have before us a contest from the District of Columbia.

Upon this contest the committee voted unanimously to seat the delegation appearing upon page 38 of the printed list, consisting of R. Wilmer Bolling, James William Bryan, John B. Colpoys, John F. Costello, Mrs. Florence J. Harriman, Breckinridge Long, Mrs. Marie D. Marye, M. Carter Hall, John F. Killeen, Rowland B. Mahany, Dr. John T. Ready and Watson B. Miller.

The committee, in casting its vote, upheld what it conceived to be the rule relative to the calling of a primary in the District of Columbia. A primary was called under the authority heretofore granted by this committee.

MR. IGUE: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the sub-committee be approved and their recommendation concurred in.

MR. WYVELL: Mr. Chairman, I am not a member of this committee and I need take only thirty seconds of your time, if I may have the floor. I simply wish to say that we desire to continue this contest before the Committee on Credentials and we give formal notice of that action now.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion to adopt the report of the sub-committee.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

#### PENNSYLVANIA CONTESTS

MR. KREMER: Mr. Chairman, we further have before us a contest involving the seat of one delegate, John O'Donnell, from the first district of Pennsylvania, and also a contest involving the seats of the two delegates certified from the fifth district of Pennsylvania.

Upon this matter the committee was likewise unanimous. It resolved that this was merely a question of the democracy of the delegates and the sub-committee felt that they could not pass upon that question.

MR. IGUE: Mr. Chairman, I make the same motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that in respect of the Pennsylvania contests the report of the sub-committee be adopted.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

#### THE LOUISIANA CONTEST

MR. KREMER: The last matter that came before the committee was the state of Louisiana. The committee was unanimous in this. It felt that there was a condition of non-conformity and for that reason it was the judgment of your sub-committee also—its unanimous judgment—that this entire matter be submitted to this full committee so that every member here might have an opportunity, in the first instance, to understand the situation; and in this capacity, acting on behalf of the sub-committee, I only appear as a proponent of the action of the sub-committee in submitting the whole matter back to this committee, and the sub-committee now recommends to this committee that it proceed to consider the Louisiana situation.

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, I move that we proceed with the hearing of the Louisiana contest and that we give each side one-half hour to present its case.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Louisiana, Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.

MR. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman, just a moment. I would like to be informed, just as a matter of information, who has filed this

contest and what their credentials are before this committee; in other words, what authority there is from any organization or from any body.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think perhaps the chairman of the committee ought to state that.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I appeared before the committee and was introduced by Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson.

MRS. THOMSON: And Mr. Gamble also appeared before the committee.

MR. KREMER: Mr. Claiborne and Mr. Gamble appeared before the committee, being introduced by Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson and we considered that at least a protest was filed before the committee and undertook to hear that protest, and ultimately, it took such an angle that you might say that it developed into a contest and for that reason we felt that this matter should come before this full committee, in view of the fact that no written statement had been previously filed. I think I am correct in that.

MRS. THOMSON: You are.

MR. KREMER: And we simply referred it back for further proceeding.

MR. EDWARDS: That leaves nothing before the committee.

MR. KREMER: That is a question for this committee to decide. The sub-committee did not wish to take that position and we proceeded to hear everything that was presented to us.

MRS. THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, as a member of the national committee and of the Democratic Party—I hope in good standing—I want to say that the so-called Louisiana delegation has not the slightest color of authority to represent the Democratic voters of Louisiana in this convention. We have here citizens of our state protesting this delegation and they are appealing to the highest tribunal in the Democratic Party and I ask a fair hearing, and I know that they will get justice at your hands.

I introduce the Hon. Harry Gamble of New Orleans who will present the case of the Democratic voters of Louisiana, versus the so-called delegation. (Applause.)

MR. HARRY GAMBLE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: You are about to hear of the most extraordinary performance that was ever pulled off in America, outside of the Republican Party. (Laughter.) The only place that a thing like what I am about to describe to you has been done is in some of the southern states where the thirty or forty members of the Republican Party, composing the entire party of that state, get together and select the delegates to the Republican convention.

We filed with the sub-committee a document with attached ex-

hibits, in the name of, and we believe, representing, the great body of the Democratic citizenship of the state of Louisiana.

Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, in order that you may have a background to determine by what Democratic authority these delegates are coming to you and asking recognition at the hands of the greatest tribunal of Democracy in America, and I may add, in the world, the state central committee of Louisiana is nothing but a body, highly respectable in its individual membership, that adds two and two and puts down the result, four. Its functions are purely clerical.

There was never the slightest idea on the part of anybody in Louisiana, during the election at which these members were selected, that they would take it into their heads that they were the Democracy of the state of Louisiana, and that they would swallow at one grand gulp the whole Democracy of the state and act for it and select the delegates to come here and act at Houston, and in such a manner as to perhaps in its ultimate analysis determine who will be President of the United States.

Furthermore, in our long campaigns there is never any national question discussed. We are concerned only with our domestic affairs. Even the candidates for state office have no reason to refer to national matters, and these members of the state central committee, some of whom were forgotten to be elected—seven parishes in the state never even remembered to elect a state committeeman, and the statute authorizes under such circumstances that the state central committee may fill these vacancies, and vacancies to the number of seven were filled by the dominant faction that took the action which we are complaining about.

Why, it is so unimportant that in most cases they are elected at the last moment at a little party caucus when somebody will say, "By the way, you have forgotten the committeemen. Whom shall we put down? Well, Fred Claiborne—put him down, he has enough money to go to New Orleans and come back twice a year, and that is about all they ever do. They simply go down and count the results. Put down Harry Gamble, who can always find some way to get to New Orleans." This is the way the Democratic State Central Committee is selected in Louisiana. This is the body that comes before you, in effect here, and says, "We hand you twenty delegates and twenty alternates to represent the Democracy of the state of Louisiana."

And, not only did they impudently assume this authority but they did it, and we did not use language too strong when we described it as being ambushed.

There was not the slightest notice given to the people of the

state of Louisiana that this thing was about to be done, and on the morning on which this committee met, when it was stated downstairs in the hotel in which they met that this action was going to be taken, such old political leaders as our national committeeman, Mr. Thomas, such persons interested in politics as myself, and some others, who did not belong to the particular faction that was about to take this action, said: "No, they would not do that." We did not say you can not find a sufficient number of Democrats in Louisiana who would be crooked enough to do it, but we did say you can not find a sufficient number of accredited Democrats in Louisiana who would be stupid enough to do it; and we did not believe they would do it, and when it was proposed in the committee we were practically paralyzed with astonishment, but came to in time, however, to most vigorously protest against this unheard of and extraordinary procedure.

I will read the notice sent out by Mr. Fields, then chairman and now present. This was the notice that the people of Louisiana and the members of the committee had that Louisiana Democracy had gone out of business in favor of the State Central Committee.

This is dated February eleventh. I am omitting the first paragraph because that was addressed to the old committee:

"To the members of the new state committee:

"You are hereby called to meet at the same time and place for the purpose of organization and election of officers, the consideration of a call for a Democratic State Convention and to transact any and all other business that may properly come before this meeting of the committee."

Now, anybody catching that phrase in a call for a Democratic State Convention—it would never enter the head of any intelligent person in the state of Louisiana that that meant the abolition of the usual and customary state convention and substituting for that body the will of this State Central Committee.

I would not have to take up two minutes of your time to tell you how politically wrong that is. I would not have to take a minute to characterize that to people who are in this body, who by the very fact that they are in this body are politically-minded and know something about the affairs of government. I do not have to waste one instant to tell you how immoral, politically speaking, this action is. The thing that is in your mind is to wonder how such action could be taken by a set of men, intelligent men, some of them the leading men of our state, like, I was about to say, Col. Ewing; but he was not present and not a member of the committee, and makes, I think, a very reluctant and weak defense of its action.

I would never imagine that any body of men like this would

undertake to do and act like this without some sort of commission to do it, and when after it was done and published in the newspapers and published statements were issued by distinguished Democrats throughout the state, including the national committeeman, Mr. Thomas, who spoke of it and condemned it in no uncertain language, the only defense of it, a defense that stopped after three or four days because it was not fair discussion—they would challenge it day after day and they laid down and refused to defend this action and they are men who are in no sense physical, moral or political cowards. They just could not get their consent to come out in print and undertake to defend such an indefensible thing. Of course, there were some little remarks from quite a number, such as "pie-chasers," "plunder-bunders" and epithets of that sort—language quite familiar to the people in the middle Atlantic and northern states, as you apply it to the Republicans, but not to each other, I am sure. But there was never any actual defense offered.

They say, and that it will be argued here, that it has a legal ground to stand on, if no Democratic ground to stand on, and that the legal ground that will be set up is that in the long statute of about twenty pages providing the primary laws of the state of Louisiana in which is found authority for the State Central Committee, there is this phrase:

"The State Central Committee shall be the governing authority of the Democratic Party."

I deny that this constitutes legal authority for the action taken, on two grounds.

First, the constitution of the state of Louisiana in Section 4, Article 3—and if I had known I would have to present this I would have the constitution here—

MR. EDWARDS: There it is in my grip, Mr. Gamble.

MR. GAMBLE: Mr. Edwards has it in his grip and if I am in error he will correct me. It reads as follows:

"In any convention held in Louisiana the representation must be apportioned according to population."

Now, if this body wants to call itself a political convention; if it wishes to make itself more ridiculous than it has already done, and say that it was a political convention that was authorized to select these men, then it was an unauthorized body, not organized according to the constitutional requirements and therefore its action is illegal.

Passing the question of the constitution and coming to the phrase "governing authority of the party," it is the common interpretation of legal provisions to ascertain the legislative will. That is what the law is. Every lawyer learned that definition of law in

his first year of study. Law is the expression of the legislative will. Is there anybody here who has heard me describe this procedure that imagines that it was ever the legislative will, when the legislature wrote that provision, that the Democratic Executive Committee shall be the governing authority of the party; that it was the legislative will that that should be interpreted to mean that it could abolish the state convention and itself assume the authority of the state convention which had been customary in the state from time immemorial. They have not a legal leg to stand on.

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has just a very few minutes left. May I ask if the gentleman will permit a question?

MR. GAMBLE: Yes.

MR. MULLEN: Will you have such a list of delegates whom you have elected?

MR. GAMBLE: I have a list of delegates which we ask—

MR. EDWARDS: They have absolutely no standing here.

MR. GAMBLE: I will cover that. I want to answer the question.

In answer to the question, I lay down this as a proposition. In looking at the delegation which comes so accredited from the state of Louisiana, reeking with fraud, I lay down this as a Democratic principle before a Democratic body, that any one single Democrat in Louisiana has more authority to speak for the Democracy of Louisiana than the twenty delegates and the twenty alternates that come here. I lay it down as a sound proposition that if there had been as many as two people who met in Louisiana and said, we, the people of Louisiana, name the following twenty delegates, or that those two people so assembled, as the people have the right to assemble, and not assembling in fraud, not ambushing the people, not stealing their rights away from them, but doing it openly, and declaring, 'We, the people,' come here with greater authority than this so-called delegation.

Now, I say this to you, and I say it deliberately, because my time is coming to a close. I say it as one who has taken some part in the political affairs of the state of Louisiana. I say it as one who has pride in my state and one who has wanted my state treated properly in all Democratic matters nationally, and I declare that I am willing to stand in my own state on the proposition that rather than be represented by the delegation which is here, estimable as it is in its individual capacity, we would rather not be represented in the National Convention at all.

MR. BRENNAN: Will the gentleman yield to a question?

MR. GAMBLE: Yes, sir.

MR. BRENNAN: Admitting this usurpation of authority, admitting it was illegal and that Democrats were raped of their

rights, why did not the people of Louisiana assemble in convention and send delegates to us? I know that is what would happen in the northern states if anything of that kind occurred.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman has been allotted one-half hour to present his case, and of course he is entitled to his time.

MR. BRENNAN: I would be pleased to ask that the gentleman be given an extension of time.

MR. EDWARDS: Is it not a fact that for three weeks the little coterie of people tried to get up a convention and the people of the state were so much in favor of what the State Central Committee had done that they could not do it?

MR. GAMBLE: I will answer your question. In the state of Louisiana we have just come through a most destructive flood, the most destructive in its history. The flood came through the northeastern part of the state and swept through the southwestern part and left the people in a state of apathy. Some of our most distinguished men from that section, as well as from all over the state, went to Washington and spent months of time that they would otherwise have spent in Louisiana, fighting this thing, in an effort to get flood control which they were finally successful in doing. We have had many troubles in Louisiana besides this one. I agree with you that in Chicago it would have been different. In Indiana, an old gentleman said to me, "If they would do that in Indiana they would be tarred and feathered." Now, what would happen to them in Chicago, I do not know; probably they would be taken for a ride.

I give you that answer in perfect good faith. The people of my state have just gone through a long political campaign.

MR. SWING: Nobody tarred and feathered them in Arkansas or in Georgia when they did the same thing.

MR. GAMBLE: They are not similar cases. It was not the practice in Arkansas, as it was the practice in Louisiana, to call a convention. In Arkansas it was the practice of the state committee to act, and as long as that is the Democratic practice of that state, that certainly can not be quoted here as a similar case.

MR. SWING: How about Georgia?

MR. GAMBLE: In Georgia the State Central Committee met.

MR. SWING: Let me ask you this question.

MR. GAMBLE: You asked me about Georgia. Let me answer it. The Georgia State Central Committee met. They had a favorite son. They decided in favor of the favorite son, but they also did this, Mr. Swing. They adjourned for thirty days and declared to the people of the state of Georgia that during this thirty days they had the right to call a primary, and in view of the fact that the people of Georgia were satisfied with the action of naming

their distinguished son as a candidate for President, they did not choose to take any action in that state. It is a totally dissimilar case from that in Louisiana.

I reserve five minutes of my time, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SWING: Is it not a fact that you had four months in which to go to the courts if there was anything illegal?

MR. GAMBLE: We had four months to appeal to the courts, but we knew there was a greater court than all the courts of Louisiana. We are appealing to the greatest court in American Democracy today. (Applause.)

MR. SWING: Is it or is it not a fact that this is an effort on the part of a few people in Louisiana, which you and the several gentlemen associated with you are behind, to get a great vote for the Republican ticket in Louisiana, rather than the Democratic ticket?

MR. GAMBLE: Mr. Swing, I can scarcely control myself in answering that because you have not the slightest foundation for that insinuation.

MR. SWING: I have asked the question.

MR. GAMBLE: The answer is, nobody connected with this movement is a Hooverite. They are Democrats, and they want to proceed along Democratic lines. (Applause.)

MRS. THOMSON: I do not know who my colleague is, but I would like to ask if he ever knew a time when Champ Clark ever aided the Republican Party? (Applause.)

MR. GAMBLE: Mr. Chairman, I reserve five minutes of my time. I thank you for your attention. I am sorry I could not go a little fuller into the details of this matter.

MR. EDWARDS: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: In order that you may get an idea of the unlimited "Gaul" that Caesar left on earth here, I want to relate to you a little political history of the state of Louisiana in the last campaign. We have here the New Orleans Item and these few men here alone contesting this delegation. They could not get a tubful of people to meet in convention in the state of Louisiana to oppose the Democratic Executive Committee.

SENATOR GLASS: Then why did you not call the convention?

MR. EDWARDS: Because, Senator, the law provided we did not have to do it, and the law gives us the right to do it in this way.

We have just been through a heated campaign. We have just had all these troubles down there, but we could have accomplished the same thing in a convention if we had held one.

SENATOR GLASS: Why did you not hold one?

MR. EDWARDS: Because it was not necessary and we did not see fit to hold it, and the law gives us the legal right not to hold it.

Now, if this is a contest here, I do not know where it comes from. Due process of law is one thing that every citizen is entitled to. We did not know anything about this proposition until the last moment. No service was ever made on any one of these alleged or so-called flim-flam parties they have put up here, put up by the New Orleans Item and these few men, and behind them is nothing but political animus and bias, smarting under the defeat they had just gone through. Mr. Claiborne had just been overwhelmingly defeated for Lieutenant Governor. My friend Harry Gamble was going to be cut off from the government tit as announced by Governor Long, by losing a soft job that he had sucked there for ten years. The Item had supported Riley J. Wilson. A majority of 64,000 has elected the State Central Committee and they are behind us in this fight.

Now, what is the legal status of this matter. We are willing to meet them and we defy them.

They could not get forty men in the state of Louisiana to back them up in a convention held in a town hall if they had paid a high price for it.

We come before this committee, as they admit, with delegates whom nobody can assail for their principles. No one can assail their integrity. The list is headed by the two United States senators and is composed of a long list of gentlemen throughout the state of Louisiana that nobody can impeach for their integrity, and certainly not these men who are smarting under defeat and because of being cut off from the public tit. They are the only ones in the state of Louisiana, in fact, who are having a word to say about this.

You all know what Democrats are. I was born and bred over here in Fayette County, Texas.

I have been a member of the State Central Committee and an officer of it for a number of years. I have been on the committee for eight or ten years.

The only trouble with these parties, my friends and fellow Democrats, is that they are outside looking in. They are all noted as being New Orleans turn-coats. They made the wrong flip on the seventeenth day of last January and were put out entirely and now they come here with this cry of fraud.

I defy them and state to you that there is not a word of truth in any such statement.

I just made a memorandum here of something I want to discuss and then I am going to yield the discussion of the matter largely to my alternate.

Now, what do we have here involved in this matter? What did they expect us to do in advance of the Democratic committee meet-

ing, in advance of the national platform? What did we do? We never declared on any platform. We waited to get our commands from the supreme tribunal that is here today, and there is no one who could oppose the resolution we passed unless it is some party who gives aid and comfort to our Republican enemies. No true Democrat could ever oppose the action of this committee down there. Now, what was the resolution?

MR. GAMBLE: I invite especial attention to the first paragraph of that resolution.

MR. EDWARDS: I am going to read it:

"Be it resolved by the Democratic State Central Committee of the state of Louisiana that we reaffirm the great principles of Democracy propounded by Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson; that we reaffirm our allegiance to the cause and principles of Democracy enunciated by our late peerless leader, William Jennings Bryan, that great commoner, the sage of Nebraska. We revere the accomplishment and work for humanity, national and international, of Woodrow Wilson."

Is there any one of the Democrats here who would condemn that resolution? If so, you condemn the men who founded your party. You condemn the men who have stood for honest government and honest politics throughout their career just as we are doing here today.

We are not met by any opposition in the state of Louisiana except from these three sources, and in all seriousness, they simply amount to political parasites masquerading under the guise of injured innocence in order to scuttle the ship of Democracy in Louisiana.

I want to tell you another thing while I am here. We stand or fall on our stand here as Democrats. I have fought the battles of Democracy, you might say, from early youth to frosty age. I have never deserted my party. I have gone down with the ship but I have never deserted it. I have never been a candidate for any state political office and do not know that I ever will be; but at any rate, I do not consider that there is one thing here before this committee that would even interfere at all with the orderly conduct of Democracy.

I know I can guarantee to this National Convention with the delegates selected and named by the State Central Committee that whether the nominee be Al Smith or Jim Reed or Simmons of North Carolina or George of Georgia or Robinson of Arkansas or Jesse Jones of Texas, or any other favorite son, they will stand as a solid front and there will be a Democratic majority in Louisiana for the nominee whoever he may be. (Applause.)

There may be a few defections but we can get along without

them, and no matter what happens here they will never split the Solid South within our time no matter whom they nominate, or what the situation may be. (Applause.)

I am not going to go into this thing any further, gentlemen. I have a colleague here who wants to speak on the subject. I am not much of a speaker or an orator. I have not had much experience in politics like my friends over here, at the same time I want to urge upon you all the necessity of sustaining the action of the authorities of the state of Louisiana, and I want you to take into consideration the fact that there is no legal contest that is brought before you, and above and over all, I do not want you to deny the sovereign state of Louisiana the right to be represented in this convention, which would be the result if their motion prevailed.

MR. H. G. FIELDS: Mr. Chairman and Members of the National Democratic Committee: I do not care to indulge in vituperation or acrimony. I appeal to you as one of the members of the State Democratic Central Committee of the great commonwealth of Louisiana, to pass upon this matter in a Democratic manner, using justice and fairness as the only mediums through which to obtain the proper result.

I want to say to you as the chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee at the time, who issued this order, that I issued this order to the Democracy of the state, to assemble through its lawful Democratic State Central Committee to pass upon matters which they had, under the law, the right to pass upon; the old committee, as it retired, to pass upon the protest that Mr. Gamble had filed and had in the court also at the time, and the new committee to elect its officers and to properly function and to select delegates in whatever way it might see fit.

Under the laws of Louisiana, Section 28, of the Acts of 1922, they provide that the State Democratic Central Committee shall be the head of all matters pertaining to matters which the Democratic Party controls; that it shall be the head of its party, and as constituted, is recognized as the legal committee and the governing authority of that political party.

I say to you that there are a hundred and four members of the Democratic committee of Louisiana and that one hundred of them cast their votes when these measures and the resolutions were brought up, and even with the bitter contest that my friend tried to wage, they voted sixty-eight to thirty-two in favor of every resolution, including the selection and election of the delegates who are now before you as the accredited delegates of the Democratic Party in Louisiana.

Louisiana is a Democratic state. It is fair and it is just in

its treatment of its Democracy, even where there has been bitter, factional strife. We assembled and in the election of our delegates elected senators, congressmen, ex-congressmen, men who had been honored by the party and who are holding office today, including the present Democratic Governor, who went in by the largest vote that was ever given a Democratic nominee in that commonwealth. I appeal to you in furtherance of the fact that we not only obeyed the law but we assembled there and almost unanimously selected these delegates and I therefore appeal to you to stand by the party in that great state.

They say that this was unheard of and had never been known in the annals of the Democracy of my state.

A precedent was established four years before in the party councils when these men were members and moved and voted with us to give to seventeen leaders of the city of New Orleans the power to select delegates, and not a word of protest was raised against it. (Applause.)

MR. GAMBLE: Delegates to go to the convention.

MR. FIELDS: And believing then that the precedent should be widened and the whole party should have this right, we delegated to the entire State Central Committee the powers that they had delegated to only seventeen gentlemen in the city of New Orleans. So there was a precedent.

I am not here to discuss what has transpired in our fight because you are not interested in that. I am not here to discuss the fact that my friend opposed the Democratic governor, the man who is now the governor of Louisiana, and that he has lost his remunerative position is of no consequence to you. The fact that my good friend has made three fights in trying to run at the head of the ticket or with the head of the ticket is of no consequence to you. You are Democrats here, children of Jefferson and disciples of Jackson, to stand by right and order and the rules of your party.

The State Democratic Central Committee of Louisiana has a resolution in force that in shall pass such things as are necessary and conducive to the betterment and advancement of the Democratic Party in Louisiana. We have cast aside our bitterness. Despite the fact that these gentlemen issued a call for conventions, only five Democratic committees in the rural sections responded.

MR. GAMBLE: I issued no such call.

MR. FIELDS: Five committees answered and in my home county you attempted to bring the issue up or your cohorts did, and they almost unanimously elected me as the leader of the party again. Five out of sixty-four is all that they were able to raise to sustain their position.

With the devastation of the flooded area, when religious tolerance was at its best, when Democracy was united, when one and all stood as Jeffersonian Democrats and Jackson children standing together, in peace and harmony, the people were in united accord with us in having the State Central Committee name the delegates, and there has not been any protest on this floor from a single state central committeeman from the grand old commonwealth of Louisiana.

I say to the members of the National Committee that there is no real protest here. If you wipe out this delegation you slap the Democracy of the grand old state of Louisiana in the face. You leave us without a Democracy and disorganize our forces in Louisiana that are now completely united.

Louisiana is a sacred spot in the annals and in the geographical topography of the Democratic Party, for it was Thomas Jefferson, the father of the party, who fathered the Louisiana Purchase, and it was Jackson, the greatest independent leader of the party, who at Chalmette, on Louisiana soil, forever freed America and Democracy from a foreign foe, and there we are united, as Democrats, appealing to you to give us our just dues and keep this delegation of distinguished Democrats from the state of Louisiana. (Applause.)

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, may I ask the member of the State Central Committee of Louisiana a question?

MR. FIELDS: Yes, sir.

MR. QUINN: After the minority of the state of Louisiana had protested against the procedure that Mr. Gamble condemned here today, did they then contest the election of the delegates who had been elected?

MR. FIELDS: Not a single protest. After the votes were counted they accepted their defeat as distinguished members of the Democracy and no man went into the court or afterwards protested before the State Central Committee, and we stand with the approval of Louisiana behind us.

MRS. FUNK: Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

MR. FIELDS: Yes.

MRS. FUNK: In order that we may clarify this issue for persons like myself who are somewhat confused by all the personalities that I presume are necessarily injected into this matter, I would like to ask one question, and let me predicate my question by saying that, as I understand it, the function of this committee is to pass upon only one question, namely, whether or not your delegation seeks admission here through authority either of law or of custom. Now, will you state to me, in words of one syllable,

if you can, so that we may all understand it, exactly what law or what custom you invoke, leaving to one side all extraneous matters that transpired?

MR. FIELDS: The lady asks me under what authority the State Central Committee acted. We acted in accordance with Section 28 of the Act of 1922 of Louisiana, the only law bearing on the subject, giving us absolute power in the premises, and also upon the power of a resolution, and under the authority of a mandate of the State Central Committee, which itself, years before, governed by the friends of my friend here who has presented the opposition, giving us this power, and establishing a precedent which has come on down to the present time, and is the present ruling of our committee.

MRS. FUNK: May I ask further, in order to clarify your answer, is that section of your statute which you have read the law you refer to?

MR. FIELDS: Yes.

MRS. FUNK: Who has ever construed that law?

MR. FIELDS: The State Central Committee, in placing that in its resolution, and as its own governing authority, has never been questioned before in the history of the state, and no attack has ever been made upon it in the political history of Louisiana.

MRS. FUNK: Where did the State Central Committee get its authority to construe the law of the state?

MR. FIELDS: It is the governing body under constitutional and statutory law.

MRS. FUNK: What does "governing body" mean? It has authority to name delegates?

MR. FIELDS: Yes.

MRS. FUNK: Will you let me see that statute, please?

MR. FIELDS: It gives us full control and says we have the entire power to govern. There is nothing in the Louisiana law, however, which specifically refers to delegates.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, I do not think we ought to allow a debate like this between Mrs. Funk and the chairman of the State Central Committee to go on here indefinitely, and I want to make a motion. I understand both sides have now been heard.

THE CHAIRMAN: They have reserved some time and are not through it.

MR. QUINN: I beg your pardon.

MR. F. C. CLAIBORNE: Mr. Chairman and Members of this Committee: I want to say at the outset that no one regrets more than I do the personalities which have entered into this discussion. You may rest assured that I do not propose to discuss anything of a personal nature. I think, though, in justice and in fairness

to myself I should say to the gentlemen on the opposition that while I have been in political campaigns I have been a Democrat all my life, and have fought for Democracy and stand here today fighting for Democracy, and in every political fight I have made in the state of Louisiana, as you know, it has always been on the side that I thought was just and right. I have never yet, and I defy any man to say I ever accepted one dollar of campaign contributions from any man in the state of Louisiana.

I want to say further I am here at the request of the Citizens' Committee that was presided over by a very honorable and estimable lady of our state, Mrs. Lydia Wycliffe, the widow of ex-Congressman Wycliffe of the Sixth Congressional District.

An invitation was extended to me to attend that meeting and convention, but on account of pressing business I was unable to get there; but they asked me to accept the chairmanship of the Citizens' Committee of the state, and to come here and submit this list of their delegates and to explain to you the manner and method of the proceedings of the opposition, and to present to you their Democratic plea for recognition against wrongdoing and corruption.

I want to direct your attention to this one fact at the outset. When we say to you that there was wrongdoing within the party, our only course of appeal is to come to the head and appeal to the national head against wrongdoing and corruption; and if you will vote to sustain wrongdoing and corruption in the state of Louisiana, you can not insert in your national platform that you stand against corruption and wrongdoing in governmental affairs, and then sanction here wrongdoing in the state of Louisiana. (Applause.) This is the position we take.

Now, for the edification and benefit of the gentleman on the other side, and the members of the committee, which is to understand this proposition, we submitted to your honorable sub-committee the facts in the case, and I think I ought now, Mr. Chairman, in view of the peculiar circumstances, to present these facts to the committee as a whole, and I now call on Mr. Thomas to answer the following question. Mr. Thomas is the national Democratic Committeeman from our state, and I want to ask this question of you, Mr. Thomas: Is it not a fact that you protested the action of this committee at the time?

MR. THOMAS: I voted against it in the committee.

MR. CLAIBORNE: And you protested against it, did you not?

MR. THOMAS: Yes.

MR. BRENNAN: I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

MR. CLAIBORNE: Certainly.

MR. BRENNAN: Does the gentleman say that the two senators

from Louisiana and the governor of Louisiana are here as a result of a corrupt action?

MR. CLAIBORNE: No; there can be no such implication. I say there was a usurpation of power.

MR. BRENNAN: And corruption, you say?

MR. CLAIBORNE: And wrongdoing and corruption.

MR. BRENNAN: And that we could not put that in the platform if we seated the senator from Louisiana and the governor of Louisiana?

MR. CLAIBORNE: No, not the senators and the governor. They are not here under such a charge.

MR. EDWARDS: Yes, they are here heading the list.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I know that.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, what difference does it make whether a delegate to the national convention is a United States senator or a governor or a plain man? (Applause.) What has that got to do with it? If he comes here in an irregular way and by a usurpation of power, he ought to be put out just as quickly as if he were not a United States senator or a governor. (Applause.)

MR. BRENNAN: In my opinion there is not a whit of difference between a senator and any other citizen, but they are representatives, and this is a representative government, and as such they are superior to us, because they are representatives of great commonwealths. (Applause.)

SENATOR GLASS: If they do not come here properly accredited, they are not representatives of a commonwealth. (Applause.)

MR. EDWARDS: Who is here opposing them? There is nobody here opposing them, or rather there is nothing here officially opposing them.

MR. CLAIBORNE: Just wait a minute. It is my duty to give this information to the committee. Let me finish the evidence. Mr. Thomas, did you not state to the sub-committee on yesterday that it had been the custom for years and years to hold the necessary convention? Is not that a fact?

MR. THOMAS: I think that has been the custom ever since the days of reconstruction, fifty years ago.

MR. CLAIBORNE: That has been the custom, your national committeeman tells you, since the days of reconstruction, and the call was to consider the question of a convention, and our constitution provides that in these conventions which are presumed to be called, the representation in the conventions shall be based upon population, and that in all political conventions in the state the apportionment of representation shall be on the basis of population. This is your constitution.

Now, did they have a convention? No. Did they have representation based on population? No. Was it ever a custom in this state for any committee to assume these powers and to say, "We will represent the state of Louisiana on these Democratic questions"? No.

This was the evidence presented. Then, when this power was taken, what rights did the citizens have?

Here is what was done. First, the intention was to get the parish committees to select delegates. Then the question came up and we presented members of the parish committee to your sub-committee yesterday, who told the sub-committee, "Gentlemen, we considered that question, but we found we had no power and authority, and that if we would do that to get representation for the people, we would be doing a greater wrong than the State Committee has committed, so we could not do that."

Then there were other committees that said, "We will get together and we will protest," and we offered that to the committee, and we made a call on the State Committee to reconsider and to call this convention, and they did nothing. This evidence was also presented to your sub-committee.

MR. EDWARDS: Let me say to you that you never did call upon the State Central Committee or make any application for such action.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I said some parish committees did so.

MR. EDWARDS: Four or five out of sixty-four.

MR. CLAIBORNE: Four or five parishes were entitled, then, to consideration in any Democratic proceeding.

MR. EDWARDS: And every one of them had a member on the State Central Committee.

MR. CLAIBORNE: But we charge that you usurped this power and this right, and took away from the people the right of representation, and that was the question presented.

So this committee met in Baton Rouge, or this convention met in Baton Rouge, where the senators and representatives were gathered in the general assembly, and so wrong was the action of this committee, my friend, that your state—

MR. EDWARDS: We met in New Orleans.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I am talking about where ours met. We met at the capitol. Wake up.

MR. EDWARDS: I never heard of it until you came here saying so.

MR. EVANS: Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman ought not to be interrupted in this way.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I have stated that this meeting was held at the capitol, and my authority to represent the citizens came

from that committee, and I want to say to you that the members of the legislature, since the action of this committee, have since introduced bills to prohibit such action in the future, and we have submitted to your sub-committee such acts of the legislature.

Then this general committee at the capitol went to work.

MR. MULLEN: If this committee does not seat this delegation here, who represents Louisiana in the convention?

MR. CLAIBORNE: I am glad you have asked that question.

MR. MOYLE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question for information. We have heard about the arbitrary action that was taken, but I am not enlightened as to what the opposition has done, and I am fearful I will be asked to vote upon this matter without knowing what we ought to pass upon, except with respect to the opposition to the delegates who have been named.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I want to say that the gentleman is absolutely correct, but I was coming to that in a chronological way. I have told you about the wrongs and the usurpation of power. I have told you of their action, which was unauthorized, and here is what we did.

MR. CALLAHAN: Just a moment. I want to ask a question for information. What set of delegates certified to the National Committee as to their selection, or did both certify to the National Committee? Please answer that. I will ask the chairman or the secretary to answer the question, because that may settle the question in my mind.

MR. CLAIBORNE: The delegates certified are the delegates who are here. The State Central Committee certified to these delegates.

MR. CALLAHAN: What did the Citizens' Committee do? I am asking the question because I want to know, in order to get myself straight about it.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I have submitted and filed with your sub-committee a petition with a list, signing the list as chairman, and have certified to it as being correct.

MR. CALLAHAN: What authority have the citizens to certify to the selection of these representatives?

MR. CLAIBORNE: That is the question.

MR. CALLAHAN: Answer this question, and then I will sit down. Did you certify to the National Committee?

MR. CLAIBORNE: I have signed and presented the petition.

MR. CALLAHAN: When did you do that?

MR. CLAIBORNE: About two days ago. I think we saw you, Mr. Chairman, about three days ago, or two days ago.

THE CHAIRMAN: About two days ago.

MR. CALLAHAN: When did the other committee certify to the National Committee?

MR. FIELDS: That has been done for some months. The resolution was passed three months ago.

MR. CALLAHAN: And you certified only two days ago?

MR. CLAIBORNE: Yes.

MR. CALLAHAN: That is all, sir.

MR. CLAIBORNE: After the citizens' committee met there was delegated authority to the different congressional districts, so that the citizens of the different congressional districts would select their delegates, and the citizens of the different congressional districts, we contend, are the creators of the party, and the citizens are the creators of every committee, and the citizens have more authority than anyone else in the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has expired.

MR. CLAIBORNE: I want to answer this gentleman's question. This is the list that was filed with the petition from the district of New Orleans.

SENATOR GLASS: There is no use reading that.

MR. CLAIBORNE: Perhaps a majority of them are composed of the ladies of our state. It is about a fifty-fifty representation; one-half of them are ladies and one-half of them are men.

MR. EDWARDS: Of one parish?

MR. CLAIBORNE: District and parish. My time is up, but I want to say this in conclusion. Irrespective of the result of the action of this committee, having been a Democrat all my life, I propose to die a Democrat. I propose to stand by the platform and the nominee of the party, and I come to you saying, God bless us and help us to obtain success in the coming election.

MR. THOMAS: Mr. Chairman—

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, may I offer a motion which will not in any way interfere with any request of the gentleman? I move you now that we proceed to consider this matter, and that no member of the national committee be permitted to speak longer than five minutes, except the member from Louisiana, and that no member be permitted to speak twice.

SENATOR GLASS: Why except the member from Louisiana?

MR. THOMAS: I do not want any exception.

SENATOR GLASS: Why is the gentleman from Louisiana any more entitled to talk than the balance of us?

MR. QUINN: Then I will make it apply even to the member from Louisiana, and will move that no member of the national committee be permitted to speak more than five minutes, or if you want to make it ten, I have no objection; but I want to have some order about it. For that reason I am submitting the motion that we proceed to consider this matter, and that no member of the

committee be permitted to speak more than five minutes, or more than one, without unanimous consent.

MR. EWING: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the committee whether I can speak for five minutes?

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Quinn) yield for a unanimous consent request?

MR. QUINN: I think anybody not a member of the committee ought not to be permitted to speak until after the members of the committee have had a chance to speak. I shall not object to the gentleman speaking when the committee has had a chance to debate this question, but there is something more than Louisiana involved here. It is a matter of party procedure that is involved here, and I fear there is something else, and I think the members of the committee ought to be allowed to debate it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me suggest that the gentleman who desires to speak is a committeeman-elect, and under the rules of procedure which we have adopted, the gentleman has the same rights as anybody else. This would solve the question of procedure. Will that be satisfactory to you, Colonel Ewing?

MR. EWING: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Quinn).

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

MR. THOMAS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: I am not here for the purpose of championing either side of this case, so far as the decision of this committee might determine that issue, but being thoroughly familiar with the political history of Louisiana, having been Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a member of the Legislature for some years—and I am not a kicked-out official, because I happen to be mayor of Shreveport at this time, which is the second city in the state, and have been a member of the State Central Committee for twenty years or more, and was chairman of it for some years, and I want to give you just a clear statement of the situation, without any bias or partisanship, so far as I am concerned.

I was in the committee when this matter came up last February. I had no notice and no knowledge that such a matter was coming up before the committee until about an hour before the committee itself met.

I received the official notice just like every other member of the committee did. Naturally I presumed, of course, that we would have a state convention, like we always have had in Louisiana for fifty years or more, and never gave it any further thought until about an hour or an hour and a half before the committee itself met.

When the committee met there were seven vacancies to be filled from parishes. A majority of the committee filled those vacancies. Then the membership of the committee from the various congressional districts are allowed to elect three members at large from their district, under the law. That is the primary law with which I am thoroughly familiar. They elected the twenty-four from the eight congressional districts, and some of them had caucused before this and therefore we had practically a full committee there, of approximately one hundred members. I think there were ninety-nine members, to be exact.

The resolution was introduced by Mr. Edwards, of Lake Charles, the resolution beginning with words of praise of Democracy; and then winding up with the words, "The committee shall hereby appoint these delegates and select the national committeeman from the state of Louisiana."

We vigorously protested. We fought it as vigorously as we could, from our standpoint. We did not believe that the committee had the right to do it. We did not believe it was in accordance with the Democratic precedents of our state, and that it was arbitrary, and a dictatorial, high-handed measure. That is the way we characterized it, and I am not here to withdraw one sentence that I said at that time on the floor, or that I said in the press at that time, because above all I am loyal to the principles of our party, and have been all my life.

The committee went ahead, and by a vote of 66 to 33, or it may have been 67 or 68 to 32, which is immaterial, of course, they elected a delegation, and they elected a new national committeeman, and a new national committeewoman. This is one reason why I do not want to take any part, so far as this situation is concerned, leaving it to the committee to determine.

They elected the twenty delegates, and they did not apportion them like they usually do. They apportioned three to the Fifth District and gave one to my district, the Fourth District, where Shreveport is located. We have only one delegate, and the Fifth District has three delegates, although it is the smallest district in the state, from the standpoint of population, or rather from a representation standpoint.

The object of that—I am going to tell you the whole story, because I know it all—was that there was one man in the Fifth District that wanted to go as a delegate to this convention. When they met in caucus in the Fifth District they were tied; I think it was six to six, or seven to seven, as to the selection of the three members at large on the State Central Committee. So it was promised to make this man a delegate in consideration of his going over and voting with them. This is a fact that is undis-

puted. They already had two delegates selected from this district and then they jumped to the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Districts and gave them two each. This is the way it will show up in the proceedings of the committee.

Personally, I do not think this was right or just or fair, or according to Democratic precedents in Louisiana for fifty years. It was, of course, a hand-picked delegation, selected by the special interests that dictated and dominated the proceedings of that committee. I am not calling any names whatsoever, but this is the course of procedure that was followed, and the delegation was selected in this way.

So far as contests were concerned, there could be no contests in the courts over the selection of delegates, because they are not officials. Officials are elected to office, and you can go into the courts and contest their election, but delegates have to go to the party authorities, who are the judges of their qualifications, and this is the supreme authority to whom they have come for redress, if there is any redress required; at least, this is my interpretation of the primary election law. Now, the primary election law in the section mentioned here provides that the State Central Committee shall be the governing authority of the party. It does not mention Democratic Party, because the Republican Party is just the same in that regard in this state. The question of "The Governing Authority" carries with it the right of that committee to arrogate to itself the election and selection of a delegation that suits themselves, without reference to the various congressional districts which have representation through their caucus which they have always held at Baton Rouge, and which is the system that has been followed for fifty years.

This is the system that is before you now. That delegation was certified by the secretary of the committee, not by Mr. Fields over here. He was the chairman of the old committee. Mr. Peterman is chairman of the present committee, and Mr. Peterman is the chairman of the present State Democratic Committee, and this delegation was certified by the chairman and the secretary of the State Central Committee as the delegates of this convention.

I never heard of any court contest. There was a good deal of discussion about it in the newspapers. Five parish committees repudiated the action, but it did not lead to any serious protest, so far as I have heard, and I have been pretty well in touch with it.

I speak disinterestedly, because I am the deposed committeeman, so far as that is concerned, but that is immaterial to me, because it is purely a matter of honor, and a lot of hard work, as you all know. I am not speaking from any personal angle at all, but the committee itself selected the delegation, and I never heard of the

others until day before yesterday, when I arrived here in Houston, and I have all the badges locked up in my grip, and am holding them until something definite is decided. This is the situation exactly, as I have tried to express it to you, to the best of my ability.

MR. EWING: I would like to ask the gentleman a question before he sits down. He appeared before the sub-committee yesterday and gave his view as to whether this action of the State Central Committee was legal or not, and I would like for him to say the same thing here.

MR. THOMAS: That is a matter to be decided by this committee. I only gave them my opinion.

MR. EWING: But you appeared before the sub-committee and made a statement there.

MR. THOMAS: I said that inasmuch as there was no other delegation, that unless this committee denies Louisiana representation entirely, this delegation was selected, but in a manner which I think highly reprehensible, and one which ought to be condemned by this committee, as a course of procedure never to be followed. I drafted an act of legislation which has passed the State Senate during the last week, stopping it for the future. Our primary election law is absolutely silent on the question of a national convention or a preferential primary, or anything of that kind.

MR. QUINN: You did not finish your sentence.

MR. THOMAS: I said this delegation was selected by this committee in the method you have heard recounted here, and it looked to me that unless Louisiana is otherwise denied representation, I could not see where a few citizens without any credentials and without any governing authority behind them, have any legal standing before this committee or before the convention. That is the way it looks to me, honestly and straight, and I am just telling you what I think about it.

SENATOR GLASS: Is it a question here of legal technicalities or of plain common Democracy and honesty? (Applause.)

MR. THOMAS: That is for the committee to settle. There is no denial of the law.

MR. EVANS: Was there any other redress that these citizens could take?

MR. THOMAS: I do not know of any, under our primary election law, because the law is absolutely silent. It is possible that if Mrs. Thomson and myself had issued a call and got hold of the thirty-three members of the committee who voted against this proposition to join in the calling of a state convention, and had had a representative body there, and had selected delegates, it might have presented a different attitude, so far as that angle of it is concerned. I would certainly have championed it, but that was not

done, and the situation is before you just as it is. I never heard of this other matter until day before yesterday.

MR. EVANS: I am speaking of the individual citizen. Was there anything more he could do?

MR. THOMAS: There is nothing I know of, legally, under the law of the state, that they possibly could do, except to protest. Of course we are curing that for the future, and of course, as a loyal Democrat, I stand opposed to any such methods.

MR. EVANS: And did you not say that this was the first time in the history of Louisiana that such action had been taken?

MR. THOMAS: I think this is the first time that such action has been taken since the days of reconstruction.

MR. EWING: How about four years ago?

MR. THOMAS: I will have to ask for further time, if you want me to answer these questions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is open for these questions.

MR. THOMAS: As to four years ago, you know the governor generally controls your political party. He does in our state, especially when he first goes in, and has not given out the jobs. (Laughter.) You know that, as a matter of practical politics. I guess Brother Brennan knows that as well as I do, and the governor here has had experience in that. The governor who has just been elected is the dominant factor in your political affairs for about twelve or eighteen months, until he gives out all of the plums, and then they begin to get on the other side of the fence. It is all one party, of course, in our state, because we have only one party, except for a few negroes and a few office-holders in the Republican Party, and I do not care who the nominee is here, we are going to stand by the nominee of the party, and I want to tell you that, so far as I am concerned.

Now, four years ago what was done was this: It had always been customary in holding our state convention to have the representation based on population, and that the parish committees be allowed to name the delegates to the state convention, both in New Orleans and in the country, with the proviso that on a petition of ten per cent of the qualified voters who participated in the last gubernatorial primary, or ten per cent of the number who voted for governor, they can petition the parish committee, and that forces a primary, whether they want it or not.

Now, in the city of New Orleans, you know we have politics down there, and we have old regulars, new regulars, job-holders, and anti-job-holders, and everything of that kind, and in the parish of Orleans four years ago the old regular organization helped us to elect the governor, Governor Fuqua. I have been on both sides. I helped Governor Fuqua, and I helped Governor

Parker, and I can go back twenty years along that line, but four years ago when they had control the Orleans Parish Committee belonged to the Governor Parker faction in the city of New Orleans, and to Colonel John B. Sullivan, who is the head of the Parker leadership in the city. They had control of the parish committee, and in order to quash them, the State Central Committee at that time, which was under the control of the governor, just selected in January, passed a resolution that the parish committees should nominate the delegates to the state convention, except in the parish of Orleans, and that in the parish of Orleans the ward leader of each ward—and a ward in New Orleans is as big as a parish—should nominate them, but there was the same proviso that ten per cent could force a primary.

This was a change made in respect of the parish of Orleans, of course, for the ostensible purpose of allowing the friends of the new governor to have control of the selection of delegates to the state convention, which is true, and is what was done. It was a change, and the parish committee was not allowed to name the delegates to the state convention, but the ward leader was allowed to name the delegates to the state convention.

MR. EWING: You never knew of that being done before, and therefore it set a new precedent?

MR. THOMAS: Undoubtedly.

MR. EDWARDS: And we have followed it.

MR. THOMAS: I hope I have made myself clear. If there is any question anybody has to ask about it, I will be pleased to answer it as frankly as I can.

MR. EDWARDS: Will the gentleman let me ask one question?

MR. QUINN: Senator Glass will probably realize now why I excepted the member from New Orleans.

SENATOR GLASS: Yes, and I endorse everything he has said.

MR. EDWARDS: If people come in here without any credentials, as these people have done, could not two strangers walk into the sub-committee's office and attack and disorganize every delegation from every state?

MR. EVANS: And if it were right to do it, we would do it.

MR. THOMAS: I was just about to say this: The national convention is the supreme authority, and this committee is a recom-mendatory committee as to the temporary roll but the committee on credentials that passes on the contest and the national convention either accepts or rejects the report of the credentials committee, and what it does is final, no matter whether we like it or not. This is my judgment about the application of the law in the case.

I am very glad to have had the opportunity of saying these words to you. (Applause.)

MR. CLAIBORNE: Mr. Chairman, will you permit me to ask the chairman of the sub-committee a question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. CLAIBORNE: Mr. Kramer, I wish to ask you this question: Were not the representatives of the citizens' committee presented by Mrs. Thomson, the national committeewoman from our state?

MR. KRAMER: She introduced and presented you to the committee. Surely, that is the fact.

MR. CLAIBORNE: And Mr. Thomas, the national committeeman, was present and gave evidence to the sub-committee, did he not?

MR. KRAMER: He made a statement such as you heard here today.

THE CHAIRMAN: Any member of the committee now has five minutes in which to discuss this matter if he so desires.

(Mrs. Thomson and Mr. Ewing rose.)

MRS. THOMSON: Mr. Chairman, I will yield to Colonel Ewing and let him speak first.

MR. EWING: No; I defer to you, Mrs. Thomson.

MRS. THOMSON: No; I defer to you and insist upon it.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, if there is to be so much courtesy on the part of the representatives from Louisiana, perhaps some of the rest of us who do not live in Louisiana should discuss this question for a moment, and I am willing to start it.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to be able to vote with that element of the party from Louisiana which is here making the protest—not a contest—there is no contest here, and no lawyer on this committee will contend there is a contest, or that they have any standing legally. I know them better than I know the other men. I know Mr. and Mrs. Thomson better than I know anybody who has spoken on the other side. I know well Mr. Thomas, the member of this committee from Louisiana, who is clearly on that side, notwithstanding he says he declines to take that position. So I take a line upon this matter, Mr. Chairman, with a good deal of regret, but I understand that the request that these people make here is that their sovereign state be denied representation in a Democratic convention. This is what it amounts to, because under no rule of logic or of law than Mrs. Thomson, or those represented by Mrs. Thomson and others here be seated as a delegation.

They have not been elected by anybody. Some gentleman asked what they could have done. If, immediately after the committee took this action, which I disapprove, whether it be down in Louisiana or in Georgia, but if you are going to deny Louisiana representation on the temporary roll, then I want the Georgia and any other state that elects its delegation in this way to be treated in

the same way. Some assertion has been made that Georgia did this, and I state that any state that elected its delegates in this way, or in any other irregular manner, ought to be put in a class with Louisiana.

SENATOR GLASS: Let me ask my friend, Quinn, something.

MR. QUINN: If it is not taken out of my time, all right.

MR. GLASS: Well, I will yield you part of my time to answer it.

SENATOR GLASS: Did we not deny Pennsylvania and Illinois representation in the United States Senate when such representation came there in a fraudulent and irregular way?

MR. QUINN: Yes; but that was a matter involving fraud.

SENATOR GLASS: Then where are the Democrats of Louisiana to get any redress if they can not get it from this committee and from this convention?

MR. QUINN: I want to say to the distinguished senator from Virginia that as a member of this committee of quite long standing, I decline to place the two United States senators and the governor of Louisiana and their associates in the same class with Vare and Smith of Illinois. (Applause.)

SENATOR GLASS: That is not involved at all. If the two United States senators and the governor of Louisiana are representing tactics that are just as evil as those represented by Smith of Illinois and Vare of Pennsylvania, they deserve to be met in the same way. (Applause.)

MR. QUINN: And that I absolutely deny, and I refuse to join you, although I never separated from you before, Senator, in a matter before the National Committee.

SENATOR GLASS: And that is the reason I am trying to get you straight now.

MR. QUINN: Whether you think I am straight or not, I will answer you straight. I decline to label the delegation from Louisiana with the Vare or Smith label. You may do it if you choose.

SENATOR GLASS: No; I do not do that. They label themselves. The legislature of Louisiana has labeled them. It has been said here that we can not smack this delegation in the face. Their own general assembly has already slapped them in the face, and warned them that this fraud upon the Democracy of the state shall not be repeated in the future. (Applause.)

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, I had a few minutes remaining when the senator asked me a question, and then made a fight on me. I decline to vote to support this protest because to do so you are going to deny representation to one of the most Democratic, if not the most Democratic, state in the United States (applause); and if it was not for the distinguished and pleasant and lovable

character of some of the protestants here, none of us would be embarrassed about voting on this question.

Is Louisiana the first state that has done this? If other states have done it, let us lay down a rule for the future and let us live up to it; but in all fairness, in the name of Democracy, gentlemen, I ask you not to deny representation in this convention to a state that never, while she was under the control of her own citizens, denied electoral votes to a Democratic candidate for the presidency. (Applause.)

MR. CALLAHAN: Mr. Chairman, I do not know any of the contestants. I have been sitting in the bleachers listening to the statements made by both sides, and I would like to ask the gentleman who read a certain section from the laws of his state to read it again, if he will.

MR. FIELDS: Section 28 of the Primary Laws of Louisiana of 1922: "That the State Central Committee and all other subordinate or local committees of all the political parties coming within the provisions of this act as now constituted are hereby recognized as the legal committees and the governing authorities of the said political parties."

MR. CALLAHAN: That means you have the right to act for the destinies of your parties in your state, does it not?

MR. FIELDS: Yes, sir.

MR. CALLAHAN: Does not that settle the question as to who are the proper representatives from your state? \*

MR. FIELDS: Yes, sir.

MR. CALLAHAN: Then, sir, I would ask those who are protesting here to revise their ideas of Democracy and give those gentlemen who are regularly elected by the State Central Committee, which is recognized in the law of the state as being the supreme body, the right to sit in this convention. In the state of Wisconsin we are selected by a primary and the State Central Committee selects our alternates. That is the law of the state of Wisconsin. You have read the law of the state of Louisiana. Let us be fair, ladies and gentlemen, in this committee and give the state of Louisiana the right to govern its own destiny, and do not ask us to protest against what these gentlemen have done. Mr. Ransdell and Mr. Broussard are two of the representatives. This does not make any difference to me or to any of us, but I do claim, my friends, that we are losing a lot of valuable time talking on a question which has no place before this national convention or before this National Committee, for the reason that it has been stated that three months ago there was certified to the National Committee the representatives selected by the State Central Committee, as the duly authorized representatives to the Democratic

convention to be held in the beautiful city of Houston, Texas. They are here as the duly authorized representatives of that state.

I have no axe to grind in asking that these representatives be seated, but I ask that this be done in accordance with the section that has just been read. Let us have respect for the law, although it may be vague and far removed from the intent or, perhaps, idea of what should be in the law. However, it is the only law that Louisiana has.

Are we going to establish the precedent here of letting some outsider come in and protest against the selection of men who are representative Democrats and elected in what they thought was an honest and Democratic manner?

I am a stranger, far removed from the state of Louisiana, but as their national committeeman and as one of the delegates from that state I come here and ask you to give these men, who are elected in conformity with what I say is the law of the state of Louisiana, their seats in this convention. (Applause.)

MR. MULLEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: During the discussion of this matter I have looked hurriedly into this act. There is no reference made in this law to the method of selecting delegates to the national convention. The statute is blank on that, but the section read to my friend, Callahan, contains something else:

"That the State Central Committee and all of its subordinate or local committees of all the political parties coming within the provisions of this act as now constituted are hereby recognized as the legal committees and the governing authorities of the said political parties."

And following that:

"That the members thereof shall hold their office as members of said committee for the terms for which they have already been elected; that they are authorized to make any rules and regulations for their government not in conflict with the provisions of this act."

I would like to know if it is not within the province of that committee to provide a method of selecting delegates to the national convention. Maybe it was not contemplated that this force should proceed as they wished, but I say that under the power they have, they had the power to do what they did, and all we are dealing with here is a question of power. If they exercised this power improperly, unjustly, it can not be cured in the way you are seeking to cure it, but the remedy is the legislature of the state of Louisiana.

So we are getting now to the question of power. Did this body have the power to elect delegates? I say that no one can read

this law and have any division of opinion about it. They did have the power.

I do not endorse this kind of power. I am opposed to the centralization of such power, but they do have the power under this law, and whoever drew it did not have in mind the election of delegates to the national convention, perhaps.

I am in favor of seating these delegates. Should we, on this kind of technicality, unseat the two senators and the other prominent Democrats in this state and repudiate their state organization for three tailors of Tooley Street? I say no. (Applause.)

MRS. THOMSON: Mr. Chairman and Colleagues on the National Committee: I think Chairman Fields and others of the opposition have said this is legal because the State Central Committee of Louisiana is the governing body of the Democracy of that state. Following out this argument, this committee here is the governing body of the national Democracy. Now, I ask you if it is not an analogous case if we had met in January and the National Committee had decided the nominee instead of calling a convention in Houston, Texas. (Applause.)

It has been brought forward that the Louisiana law provides that the delegations shall be selected according to population. The great state of New York has one representative on the National Committee and the state of Rhode Island has one. The same thing applies to the State Committee of Louisiana, and any meeting of the State Committee that apportioned these delegates was not doing it on a basis of population, but was doing it on the same basis of population that we would be doing it if we did it here.

It has been asked why this Citizens' Committee did not call a convention. The authority to call a convention was vested in a State Central Committee and they absolutely refused to do that. They usurped a power which they did not have and nobody else in the state had the right to call a state convention, and we do not come here claiming that we have great color of authority, but we do say that this so-called Louisiana delegation and its credentials have been vitiated by the obviously fraudulent method by which they are here and that the state of Louisiana has not any legally-elected delegates and that the only body that now has the authority to select a delegation for Louisiana is the National Democratic Convention. (Applause.)

We are a body of citizens and so are they. They have usurped power. We recognize them as citizens and not as having any authority before this committee, and we claim that we have just as good right here as they have.

We would rather that Louisiana be not represented at all than

misrepresented, and we contend that under these conditions, where a state has not any duly-elected representation, that that power is lodged with the convention itself. We simply represent the Democratic voters of Louisiana in lodging a protest with you against corrupt methods of securing delegates.

Now, all of these gentlemen have protested their loyalty to Democracy. I do not think I have to demonstrate that in any crowd. I think my father demonstrated that for me. (Applause.)

I want to say in conclusion that our contention is that the only power that can seat a Louisiana delegation is the convention itself, and that we represent a citizens' committee that at least comes here with clean hands. (Applause.)

MR. EWING: Mr. Chairman—

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, I submit that no outsider has the right to assert his right to have the conclusion of this debate.

MR. EWING: I did not assert I had any such right. The gentleman's motion provided that I could not speak until after the members of the committee had spoken.

SENATOR GLASS: I claim my right as a member of this committee to make my argument upon this question, if I choose to make any at all, at my own convenience and not at the convenience of a man who is not a member of the committee.

MR. EWING: Senator, I am simply following what the gentleman told me a moment ago. I have no objection to speaking first. I wanted to speak first but I was told to sit down.

SENATOR GLASS: I did not tell you to sit down.

MR. EWING: No; but the gentleman who made the motion did.

Gentlemen, there have been only two questions at issue here on the part of the proponent. One was the question that in the action taken by the State Central Committee of Louisiana this year they had violated all the precedents and customs that had been followed by the Democratic Party since the reconstruction era. I deny this.

Since the reconstruction era, as I had your distinguished colleague, National Committeeman Thomas, confirm a few moments ago, the custom has been that the power to select delegates to the state convention or to select delegates to the national convention was delegated by the State Central Committee to the parish committees of the state of Louisiana and of the Orleans Parish Committee in the city of New Orleans. This had never been advocated in any sense until four years ago, when this same body of men who are here today shouting from the housetops about Democracy and about clean hands and about corruption, were up against the proposition that while they had elected a governor who was about to take his seat, and who was all powerful, the parish committee

of the Orleans parish was in the hands of the former governor and his associates, and that they would have the selection of the delegates to the state convention at Baton Rouge, which would have meant four delegates to the national convention and the four alternates. This had been conceded from time immemorial to the parish committees of the Orleans parish and the entire state of Louisiana. And what did this body of men do? You, Mr. Gamble, were a member of the committee at that time and you never opened your mouth during the sessions of the committee or thereafter and no one else in the state of Louisiana questioned the power of the State Central Committee to take the action which they took, which was unprecedented up to that time and which, if it had not been taken, I do not think we would have this contest here today which we have been discussing at such length.

MR. GAMBLE: They held a convention, however.

MR. EWING: They did the same thing and you know it. It was the same thing from a political standpoint. They took it out of the hands of the Orleans Parish Committee, contrary to all precedents that you lay such stress by now. They took it out of their hands and put it in the hands of seventeen ward leaders to select the delegates to that convention and thereby reaped the fruits of their unprecedented force up to that time in the election of four delegates to the National Convention. So much for the question of the precedents. I want to call this especially to the attention of my friend, Senator Glass, because they set the pace and now they are reaping the whirlwind.

The other thing is the question of the usurpation of power of the State Central Committee to select delegates to represent them in this National Convention. I want to say here, sir, that the power of the State Central Committee has never been questioned before. The small body of men who are here now in this opposition never questioned the power of the State Central Committee four years ago. There was no question on the part of anybody then.

MR. GAMBLE: Did the State Central Committee four years ago elect delegates to the National Convention?

MR. EWING: They were delegates to the state convention and it is the same thing. I tell you, knowing Louisiana politics and customs, that that was equivalent to electing delegates to the National Convention, because when we assembled in Baton Rouge, the congressional districts selected their delegates to the National Convention and no one said them nay. Therefore when you send delegates to the state convention from the parish of Orleans you send there the men who select the delegates to the National Convention.

Now, as to usurpation of power I say again that the State

Central Committee's absolute authority has never before been questioned.

I was not present at this meeting and had nothing to do with it, and therefore I think I am speaking in a disinterested way, although the people that I supported in the state fight were in command and had been victorious; but I do say that its power has never been questioned before, but it is a good thing it has been questioned because the very people who are following the precedent established by those who are the complainants at this time are now behind the bills that are going through the legislature, and without our support they could not get through the legislature—I want to tell you that, Senator Glass—but they are now insisting upon this, and I am not going too far when I say they are making it possible for these bills to go through, which will correct this omission which applies to the State Central Committee alone, because in all other primary elections the law is plain and unmistakable, and my friend, Mr. Thomas, has from the time this action was first taken always upheld the fact that the State Central Committee did not go beyond its power in selecting the delegates and in taking the action which they took.

I thank you. (Applause.)

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, and Members of the National Committee: I do not think that in the full period of thirty-five years since I have been attending Democratic National Conventions, or within the twelve years I have been a member of this National Democratic Committee, I have ever known so flagrant a case of positive usurpation of power by a committee in any state of this Union.

It never has occurred since the proverbial tailors of Tooley Street one hundred years ago assembled in London and resolved, "that we, the people of England" decide so and so.

My friend and fellow-publisher, Colonel Ewing, states that this power was never protested before. Of course, it was never protested before because Louisiana never before had a State Central Committee with sufficient effrontery to usurp any such power before. (Applause.)

MR. EWING: The same thing happened four years ago.

SENATOR GLASS: It was never done before. It ought not to have been done at this time, and that the level-headed, patriotic Democrats of Louisiana think it should not be done is betokened by the fact that its General Assembly in both branches, have now enacted a law preventing any such outrage occurring in the state again.

MR. EDWARDS: We have helped them pass it, Senator.

SENATOR GLASS: It is no recompense to you, sir, now that you

have done the wrong, that you are willing to have it righted when you can not help it. (Applause.)

MR. EDWARDS: We have not done any wrong. We have followed the law and we have been within our legal rights.

SENATOR GLASS: No; you did not follow any law. You not only did not follow any law but you outraged the very call of your committee. The call of your committee textually stated that it was to pass upon the question of a state convention to be held to elect delegates to the National Convention. Did you pass upon it? You utterly disregarded your own call and proceeded to usurp power and to elect the delegates yourself.

I now want to appeal to this National Committee. Let no ulterior considerations prevent us from doing even handed justice here.

MR. EWING: That is all we ask.

SENATOR GLASS: The man who is to be nominated as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States does not need your twenty votes (applause) and I venture to say he does not want twenty tainted votes. (Applause.)

MR. EDWARDS: I deny there are any tainted votes in this delegation.

SENATOR GLASS: He wants to read his title clear to the Executive Mansion, and this Democratic National Committee should not outrage every precedent, should not let any single group of men assemble without authority of law, without precedent of any kind and usurp power as this committee in Louisiana has done.

It boots not that they selected a governor and two United States senators as delegates to the convention. Governors and United States senators, in the consideration of the right, have no title of precedence over the humblest man in the United States, and if they are selected by a process that is irregular, that is wrong, that is saturated with usurpation, they are no more entitled to their seats than anybody else. It is an injustice to other states of this Union that any little group of men should be allowed thus to usurp authority and undertake to control in matters of this kind.

I do not know how to give Louisiana justice. The alleged representation and certification of delegates unlawfully chosen by a State Central Committee—

MR. EWING: Not unlawfully.

SENATOR GLASS (continuing): Is just as invalid as delegates chosen by Democrats assembled in the various parishes of Louisiana and the certification is just as worthless.

Colonel Ewing says, "not unlawfully." Arthur Mullen says "not unlawfully." Because for the regulation of its own proper

functions the State Central Committee is given by law jurisdiction of its own action, do you mean to tell me that the State Central Committee of Louisiana could nominate a United States senator because it is denominated as the governing power of the party?

MR. EWING: If the law would give them that right.

SENATOR GLASS: The law does not give them that right.

MR. EDWARDS: That is not a parallel at all, Senator.

SENATOR GLASS: Do you mean to say that because to that committee is confided the functions of a governing power that they may nominate the eight congressmen from Louisiana?

MR. EDWARDS: No; and we never contended that.

MR. MULLEN: As I read that law, the law provides for the nomination of United States senators and congressmen.

SENATOR GLASS: And the law simply provides, and you know it perfectly well, Mullen, that they shall be the governing authority, meaning it is their authority to do what has been the universal precedent in Louisiana since the Civil War—to call a state convention.

MR. EWING: Except what happened four years ago.

SENATOR GLASS: There is no "except four years ago" about it. You have never before, since the Civil War, permitted your State Central Committee to hand-pick delegates to the National Convention. It is the first time this wicked offense was ever committed, and that it was a wicked offense you have made acknowledgment of by having your own legislature now enact a law prohibiting you from perpetrating any such outrage again.

MR. EWING: It has passed one House and it is going to pass the other, but it has not been enacted into law. It is practically the same thing but it has not been enacted yet.

SENATOR GLASS: Nobody is objecting to it.

MR. EWING: We are all supporting it.

SENATOR GLASS: It is a plea on one side and a confession on the other. (Applause.)

MR. EWING: I see now why you wanted to speak last, Senator.

SENATOR GLASS: Now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I want to say this with all the earnestness of my being. If I were a zealot in advocacy of the man who is inevitably to be nominated by the National Convention here assembled, if I were his dearest friend and most desired to see him head the ticket and triumph at the election, I would stand here and take the very position that I am taking now, that this National Committee—this appellate court in party affairs should not stultify itself by recognizing the usurpation of power such as we have witnessed in this Louisiana matter.

The two United States senators from Louisiana are my devoted personal friends. We sit on the same side of the Senate

Chamber. Nobody would welcome them as delegates to the National Convention more cordially or more affectionately than I, provided they come with proper certificates under a regular system of selection; but whether they be United States senators or whether they be governors, whether they be men of great position or men of moderate attainments, if they come in an irregular way, if they come in a way that would ultimately mean destruction to the Democratic Party, I would stand at the door and say, "you may not enter here."

Talking about Jefferson, talking about Jackson, talking about Woodrow Wilson! Not one of those three men if alive today but what would scorn a process such as this committee in Louisiana resorted to.

Democracy! There is not a semblance of the sentiment of Democracy about the whole thing. It is autocracy. It is a picayune, petty autocracy that ought to be condemned by this National Committee. (Applause.)

MR. KING: Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to take part in this discussion until I listened to the gentleman who was last on the floor, and his statement strikes me as so illogical and so far afield from the real point in issue that I cannot resist the temptation to say a few words.

It all boils down to the question of whether we, as the National Committee, shall attempt to repeal a statute of the state of Louisiana. The only provision that is made in the statute refers to the committee, so far as I can see it. They are recognized under the statute as a political organization with authority to conduct the political affairs of the party in the absence of any other provision to the contrary.

SENATOR GLASS: Why have they not done it?

MR. KING: You have had your say, sir. I was never able to agree with you in any National Committee meeting.

SENATOR GLASS: That shows that I was right every time.

MR. KING: Possibly, but the greatest of men can be wrong sometimes, and this is one of them when you attempt to compare this situation to the election of a United States senator. It strikes me that it is so absurd that it ought not to receive any attention and I apologize for even referring to it. We have here the code of the state of Louisiana which has been read to you. The State Central Committee is the only legally organized body in the state to carry on and conduct the political affairs of that state.

There is no provision made for the election of delegates now but this statute is on the statute books and it is unrepealed. Shall we now act upon a statute that is to be passed subsequently, as you

say they are trying to do now or shall we stand by the statute as it was when these men were elected?

I understand from what has been said here that it was impractical to hold a state convention. Shall we let this state go without representation or adopt the only method provided by the statute and the one which has been pursued here? I say stand by the representation as sent here under the law which has been read to you. (Applause.)

MRS. THOMSON: I would just like to ask one question. I would like to ask the so-called delegation why it was impractical or impossible to call a convention?

MR. EDWARDS: Your own side has stated it was on account of the flood conditions. It was on account of the fact that New Orleans intended to fight everything that Colonel Ewing did. He beat the governor and every one in New Orleans is fighting him.

MRS. THOMSON: This is purely a parliamentary inquiry. Is it not true that Governor Long said that since he had his he did not care what law was passed?

MR. EVANS: Mr. Chairman: I simply want to make one observation. The argument as I see it here involves the question of the construction of this statute. I believe that this statute should be construed by what is known as contemporaneous construction in construing a document.

These people in 1924 did not care to elect delegates to the National Convention in the way they did this year. They construed this law then and there to mean that this power was not delegated to them by the people, and they referred it to the people, and they are bound by that construction, and the people who were led by them to believe that they had construed this act as not giving them this power and taking away from the people their sovereign right to elect their own delegates—when they construed the law in this way the people of the state had the right to think they would be bound by it the next time, and not to look with suspicion on their own committee, but had the right to assume that the committee would be just as jealous of the rights of the people as they were in 1924.

This is the proper legal construction and I believe they are bound by it, and I believe you are bound by your own construction and by your own act, otherwise you have deceived your own people. I think the committee ought to be bound by its own act.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee understands, of course, that we have been discussing a suggested report by the sub-committee, and there is no motion pending before the committee now.

SENATOR GLASS: Mr. Chairman, I move that this matter be referred to the committee on credentials of the National Conven-

tion without recommendation from the National Committee. The committee on credentials of the National Convention will be charged with the duty, and have ample time to hear all the evidence, and all the arguments to be presented, a thing that is impossible for this committee to do in this hurried way. I therefore move that the matter be referred without prejudice to the committee on credentials of the National Convention.

MR. KREMER: Mr. Chairman, I desire to second the motion of Senator Glass, and if your sub-committee had had the temerity to do it, they would have embodied that in their recommendation. (Applause.)

MR. KING: Mr. Chairman, I move to amend the motion by seating the delegation temporarily.

MR. BRENNAN: Mr. Chairman, I take it that this contest is going to the committee on credentials, anyway, and I am frank to say that if the contestants had held what is known as rump convention, because of this usurpation of power, I would have been glad to vote for the contestants, but they slept on their rights. There is an important question of party procedure involved in this proposition at this time, and I think as long as it is going to the committee on credentials, we should let it go there without recommendation, and I therefore join with Senator Glass who has submitted this motion. (Applause.)

MR. KING: Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my proposed amendment.

MR. BRENNAN: They are on the roll now. They have no right to vote now, but they are on the roll.

MR. QUINN: Mr. Chairman, is there any question about the correctness of Mr. Brennan's statement? If there is, I would like to have it explained.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think so.

The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Virginia. The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

#### RECESS

MR. STOCKTON: Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee now recess to reconvene upon call of the chair.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly at 3:00 o'clock p. m. the committee stood in recess to meet upon call of the chair.

(I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Democratic National Convention held at the time and place above stated.

H. B. WEAVER,  
Official Reporter.)

# Minutes of a Meeting of the Democratic National Committee

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SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
June 29, 1928,  
One o'Clock P. M.

The meeting was called to order at one o'clock p. m. by the chairman, Honorable Clem Shaver.

The reading of the roll was dispensed with.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I move that when this meeting adjourns it be to meet at the National Democratic Club, 233 Madison Avenue, in New York City, at one o'clock p. m. standard time, Wednesday, the 11th day of July, 1928, for the purpose of conferring with the nominees of the Houston convention, the election of officers, and such other matters as may properly come before the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the committee that when this meeting adjourns that it shall meet in New York for the purpose of consulting with the nominees, making plans for the campaign and the reorganization of this committee on the 11th day of July next at the National Democratic Club, 233 Madison Avenue, in New York City, at one o'clock p. m.

The question was taken and the motion was agreed to.

MR. McGILLICUDDY: Will there be notices sent to the individual members of the committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, regular notices will be sent. This is an informal meeting of the committee and probably some of the members have not received any notice of the meeting. No serious business is to be transacted other than to prepare for the meeting in New York on the 11th day of July to confer with the candidates and to arrange plans for the campaign and to reorganize the committee. The chairman will issue the regular call for the meeting after this meeting is over.

MR. MULLEN: Has this committee any unfinished business?

THE CHAIRMAN: The old organization, of course, has some unfinished business in the shape of accounts and things of that sort to settle here. I know of nothing else.

MR. GUFFEY: Is there any reason why we should not adjourn?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have Mr. George Gordon Battle with us

and he has a few remarks to make to us about our candidates. The chair recognizes Mr. George Gordon Battle.

#### SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE GORDON BATTLE

MR. BATTLE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to assure you in advance that there never was an occasion when brevity was more necessary than just at present because we are all anxious to get away, and you may be sure, I will detain you here only a very few minutes.

I want to congratulate you and to congratulate the Democracy of the country upon the wonderful achievements of this convention and upon the vista of victory that opens before us as we leave this hospitable southern city.

There is an electric feeling of victory in the air. The convention has shown a spirit and a willingness to subordinate the minor differences of opinion in order to achieve harmony that can have but one result in November. The very names of our candidates are of happy augury. As Senator Walsh of Massachusetts indicated, if all the Smiths, and all the Robinsons vote for the ticket, we shall have a great start in advance upon any other of our adversaries.

In the second place, you will recall that King Alfred the Great first brought together the different sections in Great Britain into a harmonious and victorious whole, and you will also recall that the greatest Joseph in history led the Chosen People out of the plague-smitten country of Egypt into the Promised Land flowing with milk and honey. And so I say that the very names of our candidates are harbingers of victory.

The people are tired of the Republican Party. They have lost confidence in that party. They are not willing to trust any assurance that, "They ain't gonna steal no mo'." We have in New York a law which provides that where a man has been convicted four times he is sentenced to life imprisonment. The Republican Party has been convicted forty times four of malfeasance and misfeasance and the people of this country will pass upon it a sentence of perpetual disgrace—and a sentence which they will dread much more of perpetual separation from the flesh-pots of office.

So we go into this campaign under the happiest of auspices. We in New York, who know Governor Smith, we trust him and we love him. He is becoming known to the people of this country, and as he becomes better known, you will come to trust him and to love him as we do who have seen him in his daily and official walks in life for the past thirty years.

The Democratic Party has a great era opening before it under the leadership of Governor Smith and Senator Robinson. They will

be our standard-bearers and a new force in the conflict for the rights of man. They will open a new vista to our party and in all parts of the country we will sweep on to success, and in none more than my native Southland, because these candidates, Governor Smith and Senator Robinson, are the very incarnation of the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy to which the South has always been sincerely devoted. The South is traditionally, by principle and by history, Democratic. It has always adhered to Democratic principles of government and it has the deepest cause for gratitude to the Democracy of the North and especially to the Democracy of New York and of New Jersey and of Connecticut, because it was by the votes of the Democrats of those states that the shackles were struck from the arms of the South in the dark days of reconstruction, and it was by the votes of the Democrats from these same states that the Force Bill was defeated, by which the Republican Party was attempting once more to place its heel upon the throat of the South.

The South will stand along with the rest of the country for this great Democratic ticket, and from Florida to Kentucky, and from Louisiana to Virginia in the South, as in all the other sections of this country, when election day closes in November next, the people of this country who have today written a preface to that volume will close the first chapter in the glorious annals of liberty, of progress and of humanity by electing Alfred E. Smith and Joseph T. Robinson to the greatest offices in the gift of the greatest people on the face of this globe. (Applause.)

#### SPEECHES OF HONORABLE JED ADAMS AND MRS. SEVIER OF TEXAS

MR. ADAMS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee: I shall detain you less than a minute. As the committeeman representing the state that you have been good enough to visit, I am conscious of the fact I have not been able to extend to you those courtesies which you have so richly deserved, but it has not been my fault.

I may not be able to take each of you by the hand and tell you how glad I am that you came to Texas and that we want you to come back again; but each and every one of you take away the affection of my heart for your kindly, friendly actions since you have been here.

Now I have the privilege of presenting to this committee the new committeewoman from Texas, Mrs. Sevier. One of her signal services to this state was that when the hand of commerce was about to destroy the Alamo, the shrine of Texas liberty, this sweet woman, single-handed and alone, stood between it and those

forces which would destroy it. She preserved it for the people of Texas, and for the liberty-loving people everywhere.

I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mrs. Sevier, who will be your colleague for the next four years. (Applause.)

MRS. SEVIER: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Democratic National Committee: I had no idea that I was to receive this very beautiful introduction to you this morning from Mr. Adams, the national committeeman from Texas.

I have been recently elected a member of this committee and I am looking forward with the greatest pleasure to serving with you. It is a privilege and an honor for us Democrats to be of any service to our great party, and I want to tell you, too, that as a loyal Texan, a native Texan, how very proud we are of our wonderful citizen, Jesse Jones. (Applause.)

I hope sincerely you have enjoyed your stay here in this great state of ours; that you have not suffered too greatly from our summer heat, and that you are going away with recollections that will bring you back to us again very soon.

I also want to say, as a native Texan, that no matter how our delegation may have voted, the men and women of the state of Texas will go hand in hand to the polls and cast their votes for victory and for a great Democratic President. (Applause.) I thank you.

Upon motion of Mr. Quinn of Massachusetts the committee adjourned to meet in New York City at one o'clock p. m. at the National Democratic Club, 233 Madison Avenue, July 11, 1928.

(I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Democratic National Committee held at the time and place above stated.

H. B. WEAVER,  
Official Reporter.)

# Minutes of a Meeting of the Democratic National Committee

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB,  
233 MADISON AVENUE,  
NEW YORK CITY,  
July 11, 1928,  
One o'clock p. m.

THE CHAIRMAN (Hon. Clem Shaver of West Virginia): The meeting will come to order.

The secretary will read the call.

The secretary (Mr. Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana) read the call, as follows:

"SAM HOUSTON HALL,  
"HOUSTON, TEXAS,  
"June 29, 1928.

"To the Members of the Democratic National Committee:

"A call is hereby issued for a meeting of the Democratic National Committee to be held at the National Democratic Club, 233 Madison Ave., in New York City, at one o'clock p. m. on Wednesday, the eleventh day of July, 1928, for the purpose of conferring with the nominees of the Houston convention, the election of officers, and such other matters as may properly come before the committee.

"CLEM SHAVER, Chairman."

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will call the roll.

The secretary called the roll as follows:

Alabama:

Committeeman—Watt T. Brown. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Charles J. Sharp. (Present.)

Arizona:

Committeeman—Dr. Clarence Gunter. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. John C. Greenway. (Present by proxy, Dr. Clarence Gunter.)

Arkansas:

Committeeman—Vincent M. Miles. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Miss Alice Cordell. (Present by proxy, W. H. Martin.)

California:

Committeeman—Isidore B. Dockweiler.

Committeewoman—Mrs. Charles L. Donohoe. (Present by proxy, Miss Elizabeth Marbury.)

## Colorado:

Committeeman—George A. Collins. (Present by proxy, B. L. Jefferson.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Gertrude A. Lee. (Present by proxy, B. L. Jefferson.)

## Connecticut:

Committeeman—Thomas J. Spellacy. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Lillian S. Abbott. (Present.)

## Delaware:

Committeeman—Andrew C. Gray. (Present by proxy, Josiah Marvel.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. John R. Eskridge. (Present.)

## Florida:

Committeeman—J. T. G. Crawford. (Present by proxy, Herbert Felkel.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Lois K. Mayes Tanner. (Present by proxy, Murray Sams.)

## Georgia:

Committeeman—Major John S. Cohen. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Edgar Alexander. (Present by proxy, Fred B. Wilson.)

## Idaho:

Committeeman—Asher B. Wilson. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Theresa M. Graham. (Present by proxy, Isidore B. Dockweiler.)

## Illinois:

Committeeman—George E. Brennan. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Elizabeth A. Conkey. (Present.)

## Indiana:

Committeeman—Charles A. Greathouse. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs. (Present.)

## Iowa:

Committeeman—Dr. J. W. Reynolds. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Flora Etter. (Absent.)

## Kansas:

Committeeman—Dudley Doolittle. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Florence Farley. (Present.)

## Kentucky:

Committeeman—J. E. Robinson. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. J. C. C. Mayo. (Present.)

## Louisiana:

Committeeman—Col. Robert Ewing. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Stella Hamlin. (Present.)

**Maine:**

Committeeman—D. J. McGillicuddy. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Helen C. Donahue. (Present.)

**Maryland:**

Committeeman—Howard Bruce. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Elizabeth R. Menefee. (Present by proxy.)

**Massachusetts:**

Committeeman—Edward W. Quinn. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Nellie Sullivan. (Present.)

**Michigan:**

Committeeman—William A. Comstock. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Miss Evelyn Mershon. (Present.)

**Minnesota:**

Committeeman—Joseph Wolf. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Stanley V. Hodge. (Present.)

**Mississippi:**

Committeeman—Stone Deavours. (Present by proxy, Pat Harrison.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Daisy McL. Stevens. (Present by proxy, Pat Harrison.)

**Missouri:**

Committeeman—Wm. T. Kemper. (Present by proxy.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Charles B. Faris. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Harry B. Hawes.)

**Montana:**

Committeeman—J. Bruce Kremer. (Present by proxy, James W. Gerard.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. J. S. M. Neill. (Absent.)

**Nebraska:**

Committeeman—Arthur E. Mullen. (Present by proxy, Gilbert M. Hitchcock.)

Committeewoman—Dr. Jennie Callfas. (Absent.)

**Nevada:**

Committeeman—S. M. Pickett. (Present by proxy, Key Pittman.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. S. T. Spann. (Present by proxy, Key Pittman.)

**New Hampshire:**

Committeeman—Robert Jackson. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. Dorothy B. Jackson. (Present by proxy, Herbert H. Lehman.)

**New Jersey:**

Committeeman—Frank Hague. (Present.)  
Committeewoman—Mrs. J. J. Billington. (Present.)

## New Mexico:

Committeeman—R. H. Hanna. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Andrieus A. Jones. (Present.)

## New York:

Committeeman—Norma E. Mack. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Elizabeth Marbury. (Present.)

## North Carolina:

Committeeman—F. M. Simmons. (Present by proxy, Frank A. Hampton.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Palmer Jerman. (Present.)

## North Dakota:

Committeeman—J. Nelson Kelly. (Present by proxy, George R. Van Namee.)

Committeewoman—Miss Nellie Dougherty. (Absent.)

## Ohio:

Committeeman—W. A. Julian. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Bernice Pyke. (Present by proxy, Mrs. Bessie L. Riggs.)

## Oklahoma:

Committeeman—Scott Ferris. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. D. A. McDougal. (Present.)

## Oregon:

Committeeman—

Committeewoman—

## Pennsylvania:

Committeeman—Sedgwick Kistler. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Anna O'Dea Murphy. (Present.)

## Rhode Island:

Committeeman—Patrick H. Quinn. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Jane A. Newton. (Absent.)

## South Carolina:

Committeeman—John G. Richards. (Present by proxy, John Gary Evans.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. L. H. Jennings. (Absent.)

## South Dakota:

Committeeman—W. W. Howes. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Anna Struble. (Present.)

## Tennessee:

Committeeman—Benton McMillin. (Absent.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Lyon Childress. (Present.)

## Texas:

Committeeman—Jed C. Adams. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Clara Driscoll Sevier. (Present.)

**Utah:**

Committeeman—James H. Moyle. (Absent.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. R. E. Allen. (Absent.)

**Vermont:**

Committeeman—Frank H. Duffy. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Miss Mary P. Mahoney. (Absent.)

**Virginia:**

Committeeman—Harry F. Byrd. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. R. C. Watts. (Absent.)

**Washington:**

Committeeman—George F. Christensen. (Present by proxy,  
George R. Van Namee.)

Committeewoman—Elizabeth D. Christian. (Present by proxy.)  
**West Virginia:**

Committeeman—Herbert Fitzpatrick. (Present by proxy, J. J.  
Hoey.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Rose M. Burchinal.

**Wisconsin:**

Committeeman—John M. Callahan. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. James Carrigan. (Present by proxy,  
John M. Callahan.)

**Wyoming:**

Committeeman—Patrick J. Quealy. (Present by proxy, James  
J. Hoey.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross. (Present.)

**Alaska:**

Committeeman—J. J. Connors. (Absent.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. Georgia Holzheimer. (Absent.)

**District of Columbia:**

Committeeman—John F. Costello. (Present by proxy, John B.  
Colpoys.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. (Present.)

**Hawaii:**

Committeeman—John H. Wilson. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. L. L. McCandless. (Present by proxy,  
Miss Elizabeth Marbury.)

**Philippine Islands:**

Committeeman—Robert E. Manly. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Grace Westerhouse. (Present by proxy.)

**Porto Rico:**

Committeeman—Henry W. Dooley. (Present.)

Committeewoman—Jean Springstead Whittimore.

**Canal Zone:**

Committeeman—Louis Townsley. (Absent.)

Committeewoman—Mrs. L. O. Keen. (Absent.)

Virgin Islands:

Committeeman—F. E. Jones. (Absent.)

Committeewoman—

MISS GRAVER: Mr. Chairman, the state of Oregon was not called. Mrs. Irene Stuart is represented here by proxy, Miss Kitty H. Graver.

MR. GREATHOUSE: Mr. Chairman, this completes the calling of the roll.

THE CHAIRMAN: A quorum being present, the committee is ready for business.

The first order of business will be the report of the director of finance, Mr. Jones.

#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FINANCE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MR. JONES (of Texas): Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have a written report which I will mail to each one of you. This will obviate the necessity of my reading it now.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to again thank you for giving us the convention at Houston and to tell you how happy we are to have had the convention in Houston. We took the greatest possible pride in it and if there were mistakes and errors made, they were not of the heart. Everybody in Houston did his level best to make you comfortable while you were there and I shall, to the longest day I live, be under obligations to you for having given us the convention. This is the principal point that I want to leave with this committee.

I want also to say that I have really enjoyed the work of director of finance of this committee. It has been hard work, arduous, discouraging at times, but it has brought me in contact with you men and women and with others from all parts of the country. I have made friendships and acquaintances that I shall always cherish and for this I am also indebted to you. I have enjoyed the work. I think we have a fine chance now to win. You are going to have a new set up, a new committee, a new organization, and from what I have heard about it, I do not believe you could have a better one. I thank you very much. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, I omitted to say that our debts were all paid and we have approximately \$200,000. (Applause.) There are a few outstanding bills and unadjusted accounts appertaining to the convention, but the amount we have will not miss \$200,000 very far either way. (Applause.)

"NEW YORK CITY,  
"July 11, 1928.

"Honorable C. L. Shaver, Chairman, and Members of the Democratic National Committee:

"Since January, 1925, contributions and collectible pledges aggregating \$464,000 have been received by the committee for the purpose of paying the 1924 campaign deficit, and to pay running expenses of the National Committee headquarters at Washington, including \$18,000 contributed by the committee to the Women's National Democratic Club at Washington and \$20,000 contributed by the committee to the Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees in the 1926 campaign.

"Expenditures for all the above items amounted to approximately \$424,000, leaving a balance from this source of approximately \$40,000 for the new campaign.

"Added to the above there will be approximately \$160,000 net from the Houston convention fund after all expenses of the convention are paid, leaving a total available for the new campaign of approximately \$200,000. Total receipts since January, 1925, were \$703,709.22.

"No part of the Houston Convention Fund went to pay the committee's debts from the 1924 campaign, or the committee's running expenses since 1924.

"In making this, my final report as director of finance of your committee, I wish again to express due appreciation to these friends of the Democratic Party for their generous contributions, made at a time when there could be no hope of personal or political reward, and for their very loyal support of the party.

"Attached is an itemized list of receipts and contributions.

"Yours very truly,

"JESSE H. JONES,

"Director of Finance Democratic National Committee."

Since January, 1925, the following contributions have been received by and for account of the committee:

Houston Convention fund, contributed by citizens of

Houston .....	\$200,000.00
From convention program, concessions, etc.....	44,000.00
Thomas F. Ryan, Waynesboro, Virginia.....	75,000.00
Jesse H. Jones, Houston, Texas.....	60,000.00
Thomas L. Chadbourne, New York.....	30,000.00
William F. Kenny, New York.....	25,000.00
Norman H. Davis, New York.....	25,000.00
John Henry Kirby, Houston, Texas.....	20,000.00
Francis P. Garvan, New York.....	15,000.00

John W. Davis, New York.....	\$ 15,000.00
Herbert H. Lehman, New York.....	15,000.00
Joseph M. Hartfield, New York.....	12,500.00
Howard Bruce, Baltimore, Maryland (for Maryland) ..	10,000.00
Percy S. Straus, New York.....	10,000.00
Rogers Caldwell, Nashville, Tennessee (for Tennessee)	10,000.00
Ralph Pulitzer, New York.....	10,000.00
Charles A. Greathouse, Indianapolis, Indiana (for Indiana) .....	10,000.00
Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago, Illinois.....	7,500.00
Samuel Fordyce, St. Louis, Missouri.....	7,150.00
W. T. Kemper, Kansas City, Missouri.....	7,000.00
Frank L. Polk, New York.....	7,000.00
William A. Julian, Cincinnati, Ohio (for Ohio) .....	6,280.00
W. L. Clayton, Houston, Texas.....	5,000.00
Jesse I. Straus, New York.....	5,000.00
William A. Comstock, Detroit, Michigan.....	5,000.00
William Church Osborn, New York.....	5,000.00
Scott Ferris and George Key, Oklahoma City (for Oklahoma) .....	5,000.00
Vincent Miles, Fort Smith, Arkansas (for Arkansas) ..	3,000.00
Walter Moore, Birmingham, Alabama.....	3,000.00
James W. Gerard, New York.....	3,000.00
R. S. Sterling, Houston, Texas.....	2,500.00
Kenneth O'Brien, New York.....	2,500.00
C. W. Osenton, Fayetteville, West Virginia.....	2,000.00
John D. Ryan, New York.....	2,000.00
Edward N. Hurley, Chicago, Illinois.....	2,000.00
Owen D. Young, New York.....	2,000.00
W. S. Farish, Houston, Texas.....	2,000.00
Henry Morgenthau, New York.....	2,000.00
Sundry contributors from Virginia (collections by Thomas N. McAdams) .....	1,939.87
R. A. Long, Kansas City, Missouri.....	1,250.00
Sundry contributors from Texas (collections by Guy M. Bryan) .....	1,038.95
Patrick J. Quealy, Kemmerer, Wyoming.....	1,000.00
Melvin A. Traylor, Chicago, Illinois.....	1,000.00
Norman E. Mack, Buffalo, New York.....	1,000.00
Harry C. Wiess, Houston, Texas.....	1,000.00
Mrs. Leroy Springs, Lancaster, South Carolina.....	1,000.00
Silas H. Strawn, Chicago, Illinois.....	1,000.00
Nathan Straus, Jr., New York.....	1,000.00
James M. Cox, Dayton, Ohio.....	1,000.00
Charles H. Sabin, New York.....	1,000.00

Claude Meeker, Columbus, Ohio.....	\$ 1,000.00
Gerard Swope, New York.....	1,000.00
R. N. Harper, Washington, D. C.....	580.00
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Omaha, Nebraska.....	500.00
John B. Kendrick, Sheridan, Wyoming.....	500.00
John J. Cornwell, Romney, West Virginia.....	500.00
James Byrne, New York.....	500.00
W. F. Carter, St. Louis, Missouri.....	500.00
M. R. Deaver, Wilmington, Ohio.....	500.00
Andrew C. Gray, Wilmington, Delaware.....	500.00
F. D. Gardner, St. Louis, Missouri.....	500.00
Newton D. Baker, Cleveland, Ohio.....	500.00
E. E. Brown, Chicago, Illinois.....	500.00
Harry E. Taylor, Portsmouth, Ohio.....	500.00
Rayford W. Alley, New York.....	500.00
Ralph B. Feagin, New York.....	400.00
John G. Barry, Schenectady, New York.....	400.00
H. H. Adams, Washington, D. C.....	400.00
Charles W. Appleton, New York.....	400.00
A. A. Jackson, Schenectady, New York.....	400.00
Ernest G. Walker, Washington, D. C.....	300.00
John S. Cohen, Atlanta, Georgia.....	250.00
A. B. Lambert, St. Louis, Missouri.....	250.00
T. T. Anderson, St. Louis, Missouri.....	250.00
Lawrence D. Tyson, Knoxville, Tennessee.....	250.00
Willard R. Cox, St. Louis, Missouri.....	250.00
Boyle O. Rodes, St. Louis, Missouri.....	200.00
B. O. Mahaffey, St. Louis, Missouri.....	200.00
George White, Marietta, Ohio.....	150.00
Samuel Rosenfeld, St. Louis, Missouri.....	100.00
M. Dougherty, Lancaster, Ohio.....	100.00
Peter M. Dorsch, Washington, D. C.....	100.00
A. W. Johnson, St. Louis, Missouri.....	100.00
C. Mulcahy, Akron, Ohio.....	100.00
Manton M. Wyvill, Washington, D. C.....	100.00
Atlee Pomerene, Cleveland, Ohio.....	100.00
E. Bukley, Cleveland, Ohio.....	100.00
Maurice P. Murphy, St. Joseph, Missouri.....	100.00
G. C. Maxwell, Columbus, Ohio.....	100.00
John H. Clarke, Cleveland, Ohio.....	100.00
J. G. Lonsdale, St. Louis, Missouri.....	100.00
Thomas F. Kearney, St. Louis, Missouri.....	100.00
David E. Rockwell, Cleveland, Ohio.....	100.00
Charles E. Graves, Toledo, Ohio.....	100.00

L. W. James, Dayton, Ohio.....	\$ 100.00
Contributions under \$100.00.....	3,770.40
Total .....	\$703,709.22

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the director of finance be received and that a vote of thanks be extended for the magnificent work that was done at Houston for the comfort and pleasure of the delegates to the convention.

MR. QUINN (of Massachusetts): Mr. Chairman, I second the motion.

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN: Mr. Chairman, will a committee be appointed to draw up the resolution?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think one has been prepared and will be presented later.

Ladies and gentlemen, the most important part of the program comes now. Nominations for chairman of this committee for the next four years are now in order and the chair recognizes Mr. Josiah Marvel of Delaware.

MR. MARVEL (of Delaware): Mr. Chairman, for one hundred and fifty years Delaware has been proud from time to time to offer one of its own for national service. We are here today with added pleasure to offer one of our own for the chairmanship of this committee. None, sir, better than you knows the needs of the committee of a great national party that is proposing to carry its claims to the great American people. Such a man, as you know, sir, must be able to think as the American people think.

Many of us, sir, are able to think as some people think; others are able to think as other people think; but we are fortunate indeed if we can secure a man as chairman of this committee that can think as all the different classes of American people think. Do you want a man that is able to think as the laboring man thinks? Then, sir, I propose a man who learned to think as a street car conductor. Do you want a man to think as capital and industry think? Then, sir, I offer you a man who thinks from the job of the chairman of the finance committee of the General Motors Corporation.

We of Delaware have seen this man grow. We have seen him grow to success, and we have seen his success come from the fact that he masters every job that has been given him to do. Now, sir, I can assure you from my personal acquaintance and those who have not that can know from his own actions and deeds that if we give him this job he will master it as few men could and lead the

thinking of the American people to success. Sir, I nominate for chairman John J. Raskob of Delaware. (Applause.)

MR. MACK: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I esteem it a great honor to have the privilege of seconding the nomination of Mr. Raskob. I am particularly interested in him because he is virtually from my own county. He was born in Niagara County, New York, within a few thousand feet of the city of Buffalo. I have known him for many years and know all about him. He is the leader of one of the biggest successes industrially in this country and one of the great men of the country. He deals with capital and he deals with labor. I understand that labor is very friendly and kindly disposed toward his organization, and it is one of the greatest organizations in the United States, if not the world. It is a great pleasure for New York to second the nomination of Mr. Raskob.

MR. DOCKWEILER: On behalf of California, I desire to second the nomination of Mr. Raskob as chairman of the committee.

The question was taken and the nomination was unanimously agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair appoints Mr. Marvel, Mr. Kemper and Mrs. McDougal a committee to escort the gentleman to the chair.

While they are bringing the distinguished gentleman to the chair, your outgoing chairman takes this occasion to thank each and every one of this committee for the hearty co-operation he has had through these four years of hard work. I am sure Mr. Raskob is going to get the same kind of support and if he does, this campaign is going to be a success. (Applause.)

MR. JULIAN: Mr. Chairman, I rise to submit a motion, if you please, that the committee extend to the retiring chairman its thanks for his untiring effort in the past four years and his unvarying courtesy to all members. (Applause.) All in favor of the motion will please rise. The motion is unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Raskob was escorted to the platform by the committee.

CHAIRMAN SHAVER: Having already said my little speech, the chair takes great pleasure at this time in introducing Mr. Raskob.

#### ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Raskob): Ladies and Gentlemen of the Democratic National Committee: I am not a politician and never have been affiliated with any party, either nationally or locally. This undoubtedly has been the position of many citizens in all walks of life who, like me, have taken little, if any, active interest in politics.

I fully appreciate the great responsibilities of the position of

chairman of the Democratic National Committee to which you have elected me, and I accept the position with a keen appreciation of the high honor conferred upon me.

There come times in the life of a nation when men not in politics feel called upon to take an active instead of a passive interest in government. My belief that such a time is at hand accounts for my willingness to accept the great responsibilities this position carries.

The Democratic Party is the oldest political party in this country and never has it had the certainty of success at the polls that it enjoys this year. (Applause.)

Mudslinging, so called, always makes more enemies than friends. I should like to pledge every speaker and worker for our cause to constructive policies. In our business life today we succeed by constructive work and by having better goods to sell than our competitors. There is every reason why the Democratic Party should follow this constructive business policy in this campaign. The country is in need of leadership—real and fearless! And if we can impart to the people of the other states the knowledge that the people of the state of New York have of Alfred E. Smith, and the people of Arkansas have of Joe T. Robinson, then their election in November will be assured. (Applause.)

This is our job. Let others sling the mud!

The citizens of our country admire character, honesty, loyalty, faith—in God, in one's self and in one's fellowman—and courage to express convictions regardless of cost.

The Democratic National Convention has nominated for Vice-President Joe T. Robinson, congressman, governor and United States senator for fifteen years from his native state of Arkansas. He has by sheer force of character, vitality and hard work attained the position of leader of his party in the United States Senate. His record is one of sanity and intelligent interest in public welfare; he is always interested in constructive legislation and is ably qualified for the position of Vice-President of the United States. (Applause.)

Let us now make a short resume of the Presidential candidate and the qualities that make Alfred E. Smith a leader among men.

1st. May I quote a statement from an editorial in the New York Times with which every fair-minded citizen who knows the man must agree:

"He (Alfred E. Smith) has been, and is almost wholly without the traditional arts of the politician who captivates the public. He is not a man of flaming speech. There is nothing impetuous or dashing about him. There is not in him a trace of either the insincerity or the servility of the natural-born demagogue. The

steps by which he has climbed upward are known to all. He has by close application and native ability made himself master of every phase of the public business with which he has been called upon to deal, and throughout his long political career he has won for himself an enviable reputation for honesty and courage. Withal, he has always kept the human touch, been genial, approachable, unpretentious, obviously a lover of his kind. In a word, Governor Smith has shown himself to be a genuine man, wonderfully fitted to interest people in the ongoings of the government, and to win them to his side in his efforts to improve the public service, and to make it more responsible to the needs and cravings of men, women and children."

Who can write a better definition of courageous leadership than this description of Alfred E. Smith, and where can the citizens find such another? (Applause.)

2nd. All have absolute confidence in his integrity. He is an indefatigable worker, has an irresistible appeal, a fascinating life—and gets things done.

3rd. He lives and breathes the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and keenly realizes that respect for and enforcement of the Constitution of the United States is of first importance. He fearlessly condemns the idea that those who advocate Constitutional amendments by lawful methods to meet changing social conditions are nullificationists. On the contrary, he believes that those charged with the administration of government who fail to enforce, for instance, the Eighteenth Amendment, because it is unpopular, or because it will make political enemies, are the real nullificationists.

Governor Smith as President of these United States, with all the resources then at his command, will be able to give the people of the United States a picture of the real social conditions under the present so-called prohibition laws. If, as a result of careful study, he can evolve a plan for the regulation and control of the liquor question in a way that will absolutely prevent the return of the saloon, eliminate bootlegging, with its accompanying evils—graft, corruption and murder—and restore temperate life in our country, then all fair-minded men must admit his right, if not his duty as President, to promulgate such plan, and to advocate such changes in our laws and Constitution as may be necessary for its adoption. This again is leadership—not pussyfooting. (Applause.)

4th. As Governor of New York state, Alfred E. Smith has probably made as many appointments requiring senate confirmation as has President Coolidge. During his eight years in office he has only once had a Democratic senate in power. Notwithstanding this, there is not a single instance where the senate failed to con-

firm his appointments. His appointments to office have been made on the basis of merit alone. Those appointed have been eminently fitted and conspicuously qualified for office and no appointment has ever been dictated by political expediency. Here again, is courage and leadership.

5th. During the eight years as chief executive of the Empire State, during all of which time he has had a Republican legislature to deal with, there is not a single instance where the legislature passed a bill over his veto. Who could ask for greater wisdom, or keener appreciation of the heart beats of his people? And what people could ask for wiser or better leadership? Vetoes and pussy-footing are not synonymous.

So much for the man, his honesty, courage and leadership—proven leadership.

My relations with Governor Smith are most intimate, and no one could have higher or finer ideals with respect to the relations between government and business—big and little—than he. He believes in a tariff of honesty. The tariff plank in the Democratic platform is reassuring to business. Governor Smith is a strong advocate of less government in business and of more business in government. He believes in no disturbance of honest business and his career demonstrates his fairness to labor.

One hears much about agriculture and the plight of the farmer. The volume of agriculture in our country is tremendous and demands the best thought possible to secure solution along economic lines with resultant increase in the prosperity of all. Alfred E. Smith is experienced in this important problem. In the state of New York there are over eight hundred thousand people living on farms. These farms and equipment represent an investment of upwards of two thousand million dollars. New York state stands eighth in total of agricultural production. It is first in the production of potatoes, hay, sweet corn and various other vegetables. It is second in dairy products, apples, grapes, and total value of all vegetables. In 1928 Governor Smith recommended to the legislature an appropriation of \$2,159,730 for agricultural schools, including experimental stations. He pointed out in a recent speech that in 1918 there were only seventeen co-operative farmers' associations in New York state and ten years later this number was increased to eleven hundred active associations doing an annual business in excess of \$115,000,000. On Governor Smith's recommendation over twenty million dollars was appropriated for the suppression of bovine tuberculosis.

He has endorsed the farm plank in the Democratic platform and has pledged himself to deal with this all-important subject if elected even before taking office through calling together leaders

in this field in an endeavor to formulate a legislative program for submission to congress to enable it to deal constructively and intelligently with this whole problem in its first session after election.

This is a brief picture of the man, his ability to accomplish things, his leadership and the sound constructive policies that will govern his administration.

This is a picture of the type of man the people of the United States are earnestly seeking. They want leadership coupled with courage and honesty. His leadership is proven—he is no experiment—and his courage and honesty leave nothing to be desired.

The big job to be done is to teach the citizens of our country to know this great character, and they will do the rest at the polls in November.

It is intended to perfect an efficient organization in each state and I ask the co-operation of each national committeeman and state chairman to accomplish this result. I would stress one thing particularly and that is the necessity of getting the voters registered. This is of first importance. (Applause.)

#### TREASURER OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Raskob): The first order of business is the nomination of a treasurer of this committee. The chair recognizes Miss Marbury of New York.

MISS ELIZABETH MARBURY: I wish to nominate for treasurer the Honorable James W. Gerard. I would like to make a speech about Mr. Gerard, but I appreciate the fact that that is not in order, so I simply wish to recommend Mr. James W. Gerard as treasurer of the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further nominations?

The question was taken and the nomination was unanimously agreed to.

#### SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN: We should next elect a secretary of the committee and the chair recognizes Mrs. Riggs of Indiana.

MRS. RIGGS: Mr. Chairman, I wish to place in nomination for this office a man who, by his efficiency and kindness, has endeared himself to all the members of the National Committee, a man who is dearly loved in his own state, Mr. Charles A. Greathouse of Indiana. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further nominations?

The question was taken and the nomination was unanimously agreed to.

### SERGEANT AT ARMS

THE CHAIRMAN: Next is the election of a Sergeant at Arms and the chair recognizes Governor Byrd of Virginia.

GOVERNOR BYRD: Mr. Chairman, I nominate Mr. Edwin A. Halsey of Virginia who has served this committee so faithfully and well in the past.

The question was taken and the nomination was unanimously agreed to.

### FINANCE COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN: We need a Finance Committee and the chair recognizes Mr. Spellacy of Connecticut.

MR. SPELLACY: Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution which I send to the desk.

The secretary (Mr. Greathouse) read as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the chairman of the National Democratic Committee be and is hereby empowered to appoint a Finance Committee, the members of which may or may not be members of the National Committee, and to designate and appoint a chairman of said committee, who need not be a member of the National Committee, and who shall have such powers and duties as assigned to him by the chairman of the National Committee."

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair announces the appointment of Mr. Herbert H. Lehman as chairman of this committee and the announcement of the other members will be made as soon as they are appointed.

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE

THE CHAIRMAN: We should like to establish an Advisory Committee, and the chair recognizes Mr. Cohen of Georgia.

Mr. Cohen submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the chairman of the National Committee be and is hereby authorized to appoint an Advisory Committee, the number of which shall be at his discretion, and the members of which may or may not be members of the Democratic National Committee."

The resolution was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: I may say to the members of the committee that I consider this board, with its responsibilities and duties, one of the most important that we will have to deal with. I think a great part of the success of this campaign is going to depend upon the work of this committee, and the chair appoints Senator Gerry of Rhode Island as its chairman, announcing later the other members. (Applause.)

**VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE**

The chair recognizes Mrs. Helen C. Donahue of Maine, who has a resolution to offer covering the appointment of vice-chairman.

Mrs. Donahue submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the chairman of the National Committee be and is hereby authorized to appoint five vice-chairmen of said committee, two of whom shall be women, all of whom shall be members of the Democratic National Committee, and to assign to such vice-chairmen such powers and duties as he may designate."

The resolution was agreed to.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The chair announces the appointment of the following vice-chairmen under the resolution just adopted: Nellie Tayloe Ross, Wyoming; Frank Hague, New Jersey; Florence Farley, Kansas; Harry F. Byrd, Virginia; Scott Ferris, Oklahoma. (Applause.)

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The chair recognizes Mr. Jed C. Adams of Texas.

Mr. Adams submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the chairman of the National Committee be and is hereby empowered to create an Executive Committee and such other committees as he may deem necessary to expedite the work of this committee, the members of which may or may not be members of the National Committee, and to create such other positions and to appoint such persons as he may deem necessary or desirable in the conduct of the affairs of the committee."

The resolution was agreed to.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** This committee being a committee of the National Committee, I feel this fact makes it necessary that its chairman be the chairman of the National Committee.

**APPROVAL OF BILLS FOR PAYMENT**

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Next we have a resolution with respect to approval of bills for payment. The chair recognizes Mr. William A. Comstock of Michigan.

Mr. Comstock submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That accounts and claims of every name and nature payable by the Democratic National Committee during

or in connection with the campaign shall be paid by the treasurer of said committee only upon approval of the chairman of the National Committee or by such other persons as may be designated by him for such purpose.

The resolution was agreed to.

MR. GERARD: Mr. Chairman, in that connection may I offer a resolution that the chairman of the National Committee be empowered to appoint five assistant treasurers? During the campaign you may have regional directors and if the treasurer is absent for the moment from the headquarters it is necessary to have someone who may sign the checks. Under the Corrupt Practices Act we have to be very careful about all these proceedings, and therefore may I offer a resolution, as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the chairman of the National Committee or the treasurer may appoint not more than five assistant treasurers not members of the National Committee."

MR. HAGUE: I think the resolution just adopted gives him the power already to do that.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know that the resolution is quite in order. I think, perhaps, if the resolution read that in case of the absence or death of the treasurer the chairman of the National Committee would have power to appoint assistant treasurers with authority to sign checks against funds of this committee, it would be what we would need and what the banks perhaps would require.

MR. GERARD: Then you would also need assistant treasurers. For instance, we have had one acting in Washington, and we may have in the campaign others acting in the same way, and there should be a resolution adopted by the National Committee in order to make the matter perfectly legal, that is, that the treasurer may appoint not more than five assistant treasurers to act in his place, but he, of course, is responsible for their actions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your resolution would add, in effect, "together with the appointment of such assistant treasurers as are necessary to expedite the works of the committee."

The resolution was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mr. Kistler of Pennsylvania, with respect to a resolution covering some contests from Oregon and West Virginia.

Mr. Kistler submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"WHEREAS, There are now vacancies existing in this committee in the representation from the states of Oregon and West Virginia, and

"WHEREAS, The facts involved in these situations should be

carefully studied by this committee before action is taken; be it therefore

"RESOLVED, That these matters be referred to a special committee to consist of five members to be appointed by the chairman, who shall study and investigate the situations before referred to and report the same to the chairman of the National Committee, who shall have power to determine the same."

The resolution was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: We should have a resolution authorizing the chairman to confer with the candidates to fix the notification date. The chair recognizes Mrs. Hamlin of Louisiana.

Mrs. Hamlin submitted the following resolution, which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the chairman be and is hereby empowered to confer with the candidates of the party for the President and Vice-President and to arrange with them a date for the notification ceremonies and to make all necessary arrangements therefor."

The resolution was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mr. Frank Hague of New Jersey.

MR. HAGUE: Mr. Chairman, I offer a resolution which I send to the desk.

The secretary read the resolution, as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Honorable Clem Shaver has this day retired as chairman of this committee, and

"WHEREAS, During the last four years the retiring chairman has devoted his energies and abilities to the work of the committee and to the exacting labors of arrangements for the national convention and by such energy, faithfulness and attention to his duties has earned the respect and admiration of all the members of this committee; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of the National Democratic Committee be and are hereby formally tendered to the Honorable Clem Shaver upon his retirement from the chairmanship of said committee in appreciation and acknowledgment of his services to the Democratic Party." (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously agreed to, the members rising and applauding.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mr. Mack of New York to offer a resolution.

MR. MACK: I offer the following resolution, Mr. Chairman, and move its adoption:

"WHEREAS, The Honorable Jesse Jones of Texas, in his capacity as director of the finance committee, has done splendid work in wiping out the deficit left over from the national campaign, and in addition has raised a very substantial sum, approximately \$200,000, to finance the forthcoming campaign; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That as a token of appreciation Mr. Jones be tendered the sincere thanks of the National Committee."

The resolution was unanimously agreed to, the members rising and applauding.

MR. MACK: Mr. Chairman, I want to say a word further. I have been going to national conventions for so many years that I hate to admit how long it has been. I attended the convention that nominated Grover Cleveland in '84 and I have attended every convention from that time to this. I have never in my life attended a convention in a city that furnished us as fine a hall as Houston. The only kick we had at Houston was the hot weather and I have apologized to Jesse Jones, because in the last few days in New York it has been just as hot as it was in Houston, if not worse. So I do not believe that the delegates who attended the Houston convention can criticize or find fault with the convention that nominated the next President and Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Jones is entitled, of course, to all the credit for getting the convention to go to Houston. We all admit it. He did it. I know something about trying to get conventions for cities. He did it and he did it successfully and I do not believe anyone has any fault to find with the way it ended. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair recognizes Mrs. Sharp of Alabama.

Mrs. Sharp offered the resolution which was read by the secretary, as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of the National Committee be and is hereby extended to the National Democratic Club, its president and officers for their courtesy in offering the club for the present meeting of the National Democratic Committee, and that the committee hereby expresses its appreciation and thanks for the courtesies extended."

The resolution was agreed to.

MR. JULIAN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to offer a resolution, if you please, extending our thanks to the vice-chairman of the National Committee for the past four years, Mrs. Blair of Missouri.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to with applause.

MR. DOOLEY: Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to present this in the form of a resolution, but rather as a suggestion to the executive committee which is to be named.

I have been a member of this committee for some sixteen years now and I have found in my own experience, and I think many others have had the same experience, that direct acquaintanceship with the members of the committee aids in every way in the harmony of the party. I therefore suggest that this committee hold annual meetings at a specified time and place. I believe this would be beneficial to our party. Our last convention was a very harmonious one, but there have been conventions in which harmony has not been displayed, and I believe many of the discords can be removed by meeting regularly once each year. I make this suggestion to the executive committee of the National Committee.

MR. COLPOYS: Mr. Chairman, I move that all the resolutions of thanks that were adopted here today be suitably engrossed and presented to the recipients.

The resolution was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, down our way the colored folks have a game they call "craps" about which I do not know very much, but there seem to be two lucky numbers, seven and eleven. If there is anything in this omen we ought to be off to a good start, because this happens to be the seventh month and the eleventh day of the month.

The Club has very kindly invited the members of the committee to lunch immediately upon the adjournment of this meeting and if there is no further business, I will declare this meeting adjourned and thank you all.

(Thereupon at 2:45 p. m. the committee adjourned to meet at the call of the chair.)

## Ohio Honors Leaders Who Have Passed Away

The Ohio state delegation to the 1928 National Democratic Convention at a meeting held in Houston, Texas, June 27, unanimously adopted a tribute to the memory of five Ohio Democrats prominent and active in the councils of the party in both state and nation for the last quarter of a century. The resolution follows:

“RESOLVED, That the Democratic Party profoundly laments the death of five great Democrats and leaders of the cause since the last National Convention in New York City, to-wit:

“The Honorable Governor of Ohio, JUDSON HARMON, of Cincinnati.

“The Honorable JAMES E. CAMPBELL, of Columbus, former governor.

“EDMUND H. MOORE, of Youngstown, formerly National Committeeman.

“JOHN A. O'DWYER, Toledo, former delegate-at-large.

“THOMAS NOCTOR, of Cincinnati.

“Their leadership and achievements constitute an epoch in the history of Ohio and the nation.

“In deepest homage to their memory, we reverently invoke their spirits to brood over the deliberations of this body and to inspire its activities by the fine sense of devotion and the clear conception of patriotism which signalized their conduct in former conventions. Their real statesmanship and advice will always remain a source of pride to all Ohioans and to the nation. American Democracy is honored and American citizenship adorned by the character, faith and idealism of these great men. We are glad to exalt their record and to take inspiration from the things they said and did.

“OHIO DELEGATION MEETING,  
“Houston, Texas, 1928.

“HENRY G. BRUNNER, Chairman State Executive Committee,

“JOHN J. FARRELL, Delegate, Youngstown,

“DENNIS F. DUNLAVY, Delegate, Ashtabula,

“CLAUDE MEEKER, Chairman Delegation.”

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